JACOBUS USSERIUS,
Archiepiscopus Armachanus totius
Hiberniæ Primas.

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THE POWER
Communicated by GOD
To the Prince,
AND THE
OBEDIENCE
Required of the
SUBJECT.

Briefly laid down, and Confirmed out of the Holy Scriptures, the Teſtimony of the Primitive Church, the Dictates of right Reaſon, and the Opinion of the Wiſeſt among Heathen Writers.

By the moſt Reverend Father in God, JAMES, late Lord Archbiſhop of *Armagh*, and Primate of all *Ireland*.

Faithfully Publiſhed out of the Original Copy (written with his own hand) by the Reverend Father in God, ROBERT SAUNDERSON, L. Biſhop of *Lincoln*, with his Lordſhips Preface thereunto.

Prov. 24. 21. *My Son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change.*

The Third Edition Corrected.

LONDON, Printed for *C. H.* and are to be ſold by *Rich. Parker*, at the *Unicorn* under the *Piazza* of the *Royal-Exchange*, *Cornhil*. 1691.

TO THE

Kings Moſt Excellent Majeſty

CHARLES II.

By the Grace of God

King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith, *&c.*

My moſt Dread Sovereign,

THE *Law of Nature obliging all men to advance the Honour and Reputation of their Anceſtors, I could not render a more ſignal Obedience thereto, than by Dedicating this Treatiſe (compoſed purpoſely for the Rights both of Princes and Subjects)* to Your Sacred Majeſty, *to Whom it doth moſt properly appertain: Seeing it was at firſt compiled for the Service and Satisfaction of* Your Royal Father, *of bleſſed*

memory, and by his deep Judgment and ſingular Prudence thought worthy the Publiſhing to the World.

But thoſe croſs Occurrents, which then and ſince have obſtructed it, having given it the happier opportunity of appearing in the more peaceful and proſperous Reign of Your Excellent Majeſty, *and I hope for the confirmation of ſtaggering Loyalty in the hearts of many in theſe your Dominions. Therefore as* Your Majeſties *right to the Patronage of this Book may be termed a right of Succeſſion; ſo the Book it ſelf may almoſt challenge this noble priviledge, that being compoſed for, and preſented to the* greateſt and beſt of Kings, *it ſhould not without a kind of Diminution be Dedicated to any* Prince in Chriſtendom, *except* Your Majeſties Royal Self.

I ſhall now make this my moſt humble Suit to Your Majeſty, *That as the*

the Reverend Author in his Life-time publickly professed his Loyalty to his Sovereign, and constantly prayed for Your Majesties *happy and glorious Return to these Your Kingdoms, and in all things shewed himself Your* Loyal Subject; *So You would be pleased to own him as such, by affording* Your Gracious Countenance *to this his Posthumous Work; which will eternize the memory of the deceased Author, and thereby confer the greatest temporal Blessing on*

Your Majesties

Most Loyal and

Obedient Subject

JAMES TYRREL.

Some BOOKS *Printed for or Sold by* Charles Harper, *at the Flower-de-luce over againſt* St. Dunſtan's *Church in* Fleetſtreet.

1 AN Impartial Collection of the great Affairs of State from the beginning of the *Scotch* Rebellion in the Year 1639. to the Murther of K. *Charles* I. By *John Nalſon* LL.D. in two Volumes, *Fol.*

2 Mr. *Chillingworth*'s Book, called The Religion of Proteſtants a Safe way to Salvation, in *Folio* and *Quarto.*

3 Dr. *Willis*'s Practice of Phyſick, being the whole Works of that Renowned and famous Phyſician, in *Engliſh*, containing theſe Eleven ſeveral Treatiſes. (1.) Of Fermentation. (2.) Of Fevers. (3.) Of Urines. (4.) Of the Accenſion of the Blood. (5.) Of Muſculary Motion. (6.) Of the Anatomy of the Brain. (7.) Of the Deſcription and Uſe of the Nerves. (8.) Of Convulſive Diſeaſes. (9.) *Pharmaceutice Rationalis*, Part I. and II. (10.) Of the Scurvy. (11.) Two Diſcourſes concerning the Soul of Brutes, with forty Copper Plates, *Fol.*

4 The Hiſtorical and Miſcellaneous Tracts of the Reverend and Learned *Peter Heylyn*, D.D. now collected into one Volume, *Fol.*

5 The Laws of *Jamaica*, Fol.

6 *Cowley*'s Works, both Parts, *Fol.*

7 The Hiſtory of *Edward* the Second, *Fol.*

8 Moſt ſorts of Law-Books.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THE Reader is desired to take notice, that *this Treatise* was written by *the Reverend* and *Learned Author*, at the special command of our late *gracious Sovereign* (of blessed memory) King CHARLES I. about the time when those *Unhappy Distempers* (which had been a good while before by the endeavours of some unquiet spirits secretly *working under-hand*, and not long after *broke out* most desperately into a bloudy

and *unnatural War*) did firſt begin to appear openly in our Land. As ſoon as *the Treatiſe* was finiſhed, the Author cauſed *a Copy* thereof to be fairly tranſcribed, and with a *Dedicatory Epiſtle* prefixed thereunto, to be preſented to his Majeſty; Who having read the Book, ſignified his will and pleaſure that it ſhould be *Printed*; to the end that all his beloved Subjects might receive the like ſatisfaction from the ſame, as himſelf had done. Whereupon the *Author*, being not then at *London* himſelf, ſent up the aforeſaid *tranſcript Copy* thither, to the intent it ſhould be there Printed: which notwithſtanding, whether by the *negligence* or *unfaithfulneſs* of the Party to whoſe care and truſt it was committed, was not done; but the Copy it ſelf finally loſt, or pretended to be loſt, and

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ſo that intent fruſtrated. The Original Copy of his own hand-writing being in the mean time by the Author (ſuppoſing perhaps there would be little uſe of it after it was printed) neglectedly laid aſide, and ſo at length mingling with ſome other Papers, it became ſo buried amongſt thoſe heaps of Books and Writings, whereof he had good ſtore, that it never was his hap to meet with it again all his life time; but gave it over for loſt alſo, as well as the Tranſcript aforeſaid, to his great grief, as he oft expreſſed to thoſe that were about him: Yet was it not indeed loſt, but only miſ-laid, as after his death appeared. When they, to whom it appertained to take an Inventory of what he left behind him, in ſorting his Papers which lay diſorderly and confu-

fuſedly, ſome in one place of his Study, ſome in another, amongſt the reſt found the *firſt Original Copy* of this Treatiſe, from beginning to end, all written with his own hand; which they looked upon as a *choice Jewel* (*quantivis pretii* χειμήλιον) and took care accordingly to preſerve it, with an intention (as in duty for the performance of *the Will of the Dead*, they held themſelves obliged to do) when the Times would bear it, to publiſh it to the World, for *the common benefit* of all thoſe, that were *able* to underſtand it, and *willing* to make a good uſe of it.

II. But as the Times then were, the whole Nation being enſlaved to the will and tyranny of a *monſtrous Uſurper*, it could not be either *ſafe* or *ſeaſonable* ſo to do; in ſo far, that for any perſon only to have

have been known to have had ſuch a piece in his cuſtody, had been *crime* enough to have caſt him under the diſpleaſure of the moſt *merciles Tyrant*, and withal *the moſt perfect Diſſembler* in the World. And the Work it ſelf, had it been once diſcovered where it lay, had been ſure either to have been ſuppreſſed, and ſo to have periſhed for ever; or (which is no leſs probable, but had been much worſe) to have been perverted, quite contrary to the pious and loyal intention of the Author, in being made Inſtrumental to the ſupport of his power, who having unrighteouſly invaded the Sovereignty, was then in actual poſſeſſion of the Sword. For by this time the Flatterers of that great Tyrant had learned by a new device, upon the bare account of *Providence*, without reſpect to the

juſtice of *the Title* (the only right and proper foundation) to interpret and apply to his advantage, whatſoever they found either in *the Scriptures* or in other *Writings* delivered concerning *the Power of Princes* or the *Duty of Subjects*, profanely and ſacrilegiouſly taking the name of that *holy Providence of God* in vain, and uſing it only as a ſtalking Horſe to ſerve the *luſts* and *intereſts* of ambitious Men.

III. When by the death of that *Tyrant* it was hoped *the black Cloud* that hanged over us would *ſcatter*, yet was the Coaſt for all that, never a whit the clearer; but the *darkneſs* rather thickned upon us, and the danger of bringing any thing of *this nature* to light, was much greater than before. The *tyranny* ſtill continued, though under various ſhapes, *Proteus*-like, ever

ever and anon changing Forms; *Mock-Parliaments*, and other (what-ſhall-we-call-them?) things for which it was hard to find names to diſtinguiſh them by. The very name of *Monarchy* mean while decried and exploded as a *devoted* and *execrable* thing; and (to make ſhort) every thing poſting on deſperately towards *Anarchy*, *Confuſion* and *Ruin*.

IV. Thus lay we *in darkneſs and in the ſhadow of Death*, heartleſs and hopeleſs; when behold Θεὸς ἀπὸ μεχανῆς, the eternal God, who in the beginning of the Creation *cauſed light to ſhine out of darkneſs*, (to manifeſt at once the mightineſs of his *Power*, and the riches of his *Mercy* and *Compaſſion*, in looking upon the miſeries of a *fooliſh* and *unthankful* People, that had ſo highly provoked him) appeared glori-

ouſly *in the Mount*, and cauſed *the light* of his favourable countenance once more to *ſhine upon us* in the midſt of our great confuſions. And all this done, ſince men have talked ſo much of *Providence*, who (ſo far as appeareth by their *actions*) believe nothing of it, by a ſpecial hand of *Providence* indeed; ſo *ſignal* and *viſible* (conſidered in all its *Circumſtances*) as if the Lord had purpoſely ſtretched out his hand to convince the bold *Atheiſts* of theſe times, that verily there is ſuch a thing as they call *Providence*, and that *doubtleſs there is a God that judgeth the Earth.*

V. This ſo bleſſed and unexpected a change (*Mutatio dextræ excelſi*) amongſt many other good effects tending to *the happineſs* of this Nation (if we would but keep our ſelves *quiet* and be *thankful*)

ful) hath by removing the late unhappy obſtructions, made a way for *Truth* and *Reaſon*, which before duſt ſcarce peep out without a diſguiſe, to adventure abroad *open-faced*. Which opportunity gave me the peruſal of this Book, brought to my hands by a *Gentleman* of great hopes and ingenuity, and *Grand-child* to the ſaid *Author*, in whoſe cuſtody it then was. Upon the peruſal whereof I found it ſo full of *Truth* and *Reaſon*, and ſo every way anſwering that expectation which the known *abilities* of ſo learned an *Author* had before-hand raiſed in me, that in order to the *publick benefit*, and for preſervation of true *Chriſtian loyalty* in the hearts of all my *fellow-ſubjects*, I endeavoured what in me lay, to help forward the Impreſſion. It is a thing indeed very much

much desired by men piously zealous of the *Publick Peace*, that by the prudent care of those that are in Authority some *timely* and *effectual* provisions were made for *repressing* the exorbitant licentiousness both of the *Press* and *Pulpit*, and *the suppressing* of seditious *Sermons* and *Pamphlets*; by means whereof thousands of *well-meaning souls* become poisoned in their *judgments*, have their *affections* soured towards their *Governors*, in whom they ought to rejoice, and are *themselves* apt to be misled into the foulest practices of *disobedience* and *rebellion* ere they be aware. In the mean time, until some further order be taken herein, it is but needful that such *Treatises* of this nature, as carry *weight* and *evidence* with them, should be published to the World for the setling of

mens

mens *judgments* & *conſciences* aright, as concerning the great duties of *Chriſtian obedience* and *ſubjection*, and for the preventing of ſuch miſchiefs as muſt unavoidably enſue, where thoſe ſo neceſſary points are either *miſ-repreſented* by the Leaders, or *miſ-underſtood* by the People.

VI. For the attaining of which Ends I have great reaſon to believe that what is here preſented to view, may be as effectually conducible, as any thing that hath been written or probably can be written (at leaſt in this preſent Age) by any other hand, whether we reſpect *the Work* or the *Author*. In *the Work* it ſelf, the diligent and impartial *Reader*, that will but beſtow his hours ſo profitably as to take it all before him from the beginning to the end, (beſides the great variety of *Learning* and *Authorities* which he ſhall

ſhall meet withal all along) will eaſily find all to the full made good in *the Treatiſe*, whatſoever is promiſed in *the Title*. And then for the *Author* himſelf, it is not unknown to the World what great *eſteem* was had of his *learning* and *moderation*, and what great *reſpect* and *reverence* was paid to his *Perſon* and *Judgment* by the generality even of thoſe men, whoſe either *judgments* or *intereſts* ſwayed them to entertain other perſuaſions than he had in ſundry points, as well concerning *the Eccleſiaſtical* as *Civil Government*. Which truly as it is a very great *advantage* in it ſelf (for in this caſe, as in ſome other things, the old ſaying holdeth, *Duo cum faciunt idem non eſt idem*, and many times the value the Patient ſetteth upon the Phyſician; advanceth the *Cure* almoſt incredibly beyond what the vertue

of

of the Ingredients would have done without it:) So this *Reverend Primate* had that advantage in a very great measure, above almost all other men in the World in his time. If some men I could name, should write of *the Power of Kings*, and *the Duty of Subjects*, with the Pen and Art of Men and Angels, with all the evidence of Truth, and the greatest strength of Reason imaginable, it would work no more upon one sort of men in this generation, than a Charm would do upon a deaf Adder. Their Writings would be slighted and thrown aside, decried and condemned all with a breath, without the reading of any more than the bare Title Page. Of so much greater force are Names than Things for the heightning or lessening the Authority of mens Writings,

Writings, with ſuch as have ſuffered themſelves to be engaged in Parties and Factions; or whoſe Judgments are foreſtalled with prejudices or partial affections. But this Reverend Author, beſides his great abilities in all kind of profitable and polite Learning, his vaſt reading and readineſs to make uſe of what he had read upon all occaſions, had alſo by his Piety and Regularity of life, by his Meekneſs and Moderation, by his humble, affable, and free letting himſelf forth to all Converſes, together with his facility and willingneſs to hold fair compliances and correſpondencies with thoſe he preſently converſed with, gained to himſelf ſuch a general reputation with all Parties, that his very Name carried Authority with it and awed thoſe very men into

a reverend eſtimation of his Perſon and Judgment, who were yet too ſtiff to ſubmit to the judgments of any perſon but themſelves.

VII. Of the Author, whoſe worth and abilities are ſo well known to the World both at home and abroad, I ſhall not need to ſay any more, nor of his other Works, which (without me) will ſufficiently *praiſe him in the gates.* All the account I am to give, is of this preſent Work, which had appeared ſooner in publick, but that it ſeemed neceſſary to have it fairly tranſcribed once more, and the Tranſcript compared with the Original, before it were ſent to the Preſs, and that for two Reaſons; The one beecauſe the ἀυτόγραφον, or firſt Copy being cloſe written with many Additions, Interlinings and References (and thoſe ſometimes

times very obſcure and ſcarce diſcernable) almoſt in every Page, would ſo have puzled and perplexed the Workmen at the Preſs, that it had not been poſſible for them to have carried on the Work, without much difficulty and diſturbance to themſelves, and no leſs injury and trouble to the Readers, through the multitude of miſtakings and miſplacings of Words, Sentences and Quotations. The other, that the Original Copy might not in the whole, or in any part thereof be ſoiled, torn, ſcattered or loſt, whiles it was in the Printers or Correctors hands; but that the ſame being preſerved whole and entire, might remain as a Record, ready to be produced and ſhewn under the Authors own hand, whenſoever it ſhould be required, either to juſtifie the

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integrity of this Publication, or to ſatisfie any perſon that may ſuſpect Forgery therein, or upon any other juſt occaſion otherwiſe: For *poſthumous* Writings (becauſe many of them are ſuch) lie all of them under the ſuſpicion of being *Spurious* and *Suppoſititious*, or at leaſtwiſe of being *moulded*, *interpolated* and *condited* to the guſt and palate of the Publiſher. To diſcharge my ſelf and all that have any hand in this Publication, from all ſuch ſuſpicion, and clear to the World our Innocency in that behalf, we thought our ſelves obliged to give better ſecurity than our own bare Word; that if any doubt ſhould be made of our fidelity herein, recourſe might be had to the Authors undoubted Original Copy (reſerved in his Grandchilds hand for that purpoſe) for better ſatisfaction herein.

VIII. Now the main design of the whole Work is that which is contained in the latter part thereof, concerning *the Duty of Subjects*: That all the Kings Liege People might know they were in their Consciences (both by the Law of God and their own native condition) bound to hold close to their Allegiance and Obedience to the Kings most excellent Majesty; notwithstanding all the attempts that were then endeavoured to be made upon their *Loyalty*, under the softer Notions of Religion and Liberty; or those fiercer assaults (which the face of Affairs then threatned, and soon after ensued) of Plunder and Undoing. But forasmuch as the Duty which God requires of Subjects is grounded upon that Power which the same God hath committed to Sovereigns,

(as

(as S. *Paul*, *Rom.* 13. 1, &c. clearly deduceth the obligation of that Duty from God's ordaining that Power, and then men will *faithfully ſerve, honour, and humbly obey the King, according to Gods bleſſed Word and Ordinance*, when they ſhall have *duly conſidered whoſe Authority he hath:*) He ſaw it moſt agreeable to the Laws of good Method, that he ſhould firſt eſtabliſh the Princes Power upon the right bottom, and thence demonſtratively infer and enforce the Subjects duty as a neceſſary conſequence thereof; like a wiſe Maſter-Builder, laying the ground-work ſure, that the Structure might riſe the firmer. For upon the right ſtating of theſe two Queſtions concerning the Power of Sovereign Princes, *What* it is, and *Whence* it is? which how exactly it is performed in the former Part of this Treatiſe, I leave the

intelligent Reader to judge) dependeth the true deciſion of all ſuch emergent Differences and Controverſies as may ariſe at any time between Princes and their Subjects, and conſequently the Safety and Security of both; and conſequently to thoſe, the Peace and happineſs of all Kingdoms, States and Commonwealths.

IX. By what hath been ſaid the Reader will eaſily perceive, that it is a matter of very great and univerſal concernment (for both Prince and People, that is, all Mankind, are concerned in it) that the two Points inſiſted upon in this Treatiſe ſhould be well known & rightly underſtood. And therefore I cannot ſufficiently wonder at the inconſiderateneſs, or perverſneſs rather, of thoſe men, if any ſuch ſhall be found, (and by the Pulſe of the Times, and other Indications,

cations, it is no hard matter to foreſee there will be found enough ſuch) as will take offence at the publiſhing hereof, or indeed of any thing elſe that can be written, although with never ſo much truth and ſoberneſs in this Argument. But yet they have not all the ſame pretences, ſome quarrelling moſt at the Perſons, others at the Thing it ſelf, and ſome perhaps at the very circumſtance of Time, according as they are led along by their ſeveral Paſſions or Intereſts. 1. Some, who look upon the Church with an evil eye, forſomuch as not this preſent Work only, but moſt of what hath been written in this kind heretofore, hath been written by the Biſhops or other Epiſcopal Divines, will be ready to give out, and that, according to their old wont, with confidence

enough, That it is not either the love of Truth, or zeal of the Honour of Kings, but the buſie forwardneſs of ſome flattering ambitious Church-men, the more to ingratiate themſelves with the Higher Powers, in hope to get better preferments thereby, that hath brought forth into the World ſo many Diſcourſes and Treatiſes concerning the *Power of Sovereign Princes*, and *the Obedience of Subjects*. 2. Others, it may be, will alledge, That it is not for Divines at all to meddle in theſe matters, whereof they are not competent Judges, nor do they come within the compaſs of their Sphere; they ought to be left to the cognizance and determination of Stateſmen and Lawyers, who beſt underſtand the Conſtitution of the ſeveral Governments, and the force and effect

of

of the Laws of their own ſeveral reſpective Countries, and are therefore preſumed to be beſt able to judge, the one (by the Conſtitution) in whom the Sovereignty reſideth, and the other (by the Laws) how that Sovereignty is bounded and limited in the exerciſe thereof. 3. Beſides theſe, whoſe quarrel is chiefly againſt the Perſons, there is a Generation of men wholly diſaffected to the Thing it ſelf; men of popular ſpirits, who have ſo far eſpouſed certain falſe Principles, apt to engender Sedition, and utterly deſtructive of Kingly Government, that they will not eaſily be drawn off of them again. Theſe taking it for an undeniable truth, which if examined to the bottom will be found ſo far remote from Truth, that it is not within the poſſibility

Vid. Sect. 15. in Præf. — *à cujus voluntate jus regnandi proficiſcitur.* Grot. 2. de jur. Belli 4. 10.

of being rendred ſo much as probable by any other *medium*, than that it hath been countenanced by ſome great Names. That the Original of all Government is from the People, and that the Power which Kings and Princes have, was derived unto them from the People by way of Pact or Contract; would thence infer, That Princes can therefore claim no more Power as of right belonging unto them, than the People ſhall think fit to entruſt them withal: Which the People may from time to time, and at all times, as they ſhall ſee cauſe in order to the publick weal and ſafety, either enlarge or reſtrain at their pleaſure. Whence it will farther follow, that the Princes Power, being but a precarious and ambulatory Power, ſubject to be varied according

ding to the exigency of Times and Occaſions, is not capable to be comprized within any fixt Rules, neither can any thing be Written thereof with any certainty. 4. Nor is it improbable laſtly, that ſome, willing to play ſuch ſmall Game rather than ſit out, will take exceptions at the Ill timing of this publication. That Diſcourſes of this nature might poſſibly at the time when theſe things were firſt written by the Primate, have been of ſome good uſe, towards the diſcovery of the iniquity and hypocriſie of the Myſtery of Rebellion which had then begun to work, the giving a ſtop, or check at leaſt, to the farther ſpreading thereof, and the keeping of the Kings good Subjects in their right wits, from falling into that Apoſtacy from their Faith and Allegiance

legiance to his Majeſty, into which multitudes of them, inveigled by Falſe Teachers and ſpecious Pretences, were afterwards drawn: But now that by the merciful providence and good hand of God upon us, the King is ſo happily reſtored to his juſt Rights, and the Nation thereby to their ancient Laws and Liberties; His Supremacy ſo generally owned and acknowledged, and that under the ſacred and religious tie of a ſolem Oath all over the Realm; the People of the three Kingdoms reduced to their former obedience, and the Affairs both of Church and State put into a good forwardneſs of a happy and orderly reſettlement, as there ſeemeth to be little need, ſo there will be made little uſe of this or any other Writings in this kind.

X. To all which, and whatſoever other Objections can be made here-againſt, it ſhall ſuffice to oppoſe, as a general and ſatisfactory anſwer, that one ſhort paſſage of St. *Paul*, *Tit.* 3. 1. *Put them in mind to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers, to obey Magiſtrates, to be ready to every good work.* Doubtleſs the holy Apoſtle, who was ſo far from being a Flatterer or Man-pleaſer, from ſeeking himſelf, his own glory, or other temporal advantage; from making Merchandize of the holy Word of God, or handling it deceitfully for filthy lucres ſake, that very often in his Epiſtles he utterly diſclaimeth ſuch baſe unworthy practices, as altogether unbeſeeming the Servant of Chriſt, appealing to the Conſciences of thoſe that knew him, and calling in God alſo

Gal. 1. 10.
1 Theſſ. 2. 5, 6.

ſo to witneſs with him, how clear he ſtood in that behalf; would never have given it in charge to *Titus*, or any other Biſhop or Miniſter of the Goſpel, to preach ſuch Doctrine to the People of God, had there been any thing of Flattery or Secular Deſign in ſo doing. Nor were the Times then ſuch as could reaſonably tempt any man to ſuch Flattery with hopes of Preferment, (and what man, not forſaken of his wits, would play the Paraſite for nothing?) when as neither the Church had yet any ſetled Revenue, nor was there at that time ſo much as any one Chriſtian Prince in the univerſal World. It is evident enough from ſundry intimations ſcattered in all his Epiſtles, eſpecially thoſe to *Timothy* and *Titus*, that the reaſons of the Apoſtles

ſtles Injunction, without the leaſt reflection upon his own or their terrene Intereſts, were drawn from Topicks of more ſublime conſideration. The Ordinance of God, The diſcharge of Duty and a good Conſcience, The advancement of the Goſpel, and the Honour of the Chriſtian Religion. Subjection and Obedience to Superiours is certainly no ſmall part of the Chriſtians Duty; a debt ſo juſt, and ſo well known to be ſo, that the Apoſtle ſuppoſeth none could be utterly ignorant of; only becauſe men generally are not ſo forward to perform known Duties as they ſhould be, he ſaw it needful they ſhould be ſometimes, and upon all juſt occaſions, admoniſhed and reminded thereof by their Teachers.

XI. And then ſure if thoſe Teachers

chers be Divines, (and I think no ſober man will deny *Titus*, and others by him aſſumed *in partem curæ*, to have been ſuch) the preſſing of the aforeſaid Duties can be no unfit Theme for Divines to buſie themſelves in : unleſs we will affirm that St. *Paul* meant to put a task upon them, altogether excentrick from their Function and Calling. It appertaineth to the Miniſters Office, not only to declare the Will of God to the People *circa res agendas*, (as well as *credendas*) to the intent they may frame their Lives and Actions accordingly ; but alſo to ſtir up their minds by way of remembrance, and to charge upon their Conſciences the performance of every duty they owe either to God or Man. Which is needful to be done in the particulars we now treat

treat of (*viz.* Subjection and Obedience to lawful Authority) with as much diligence, vigour and inſtance, as almoſt in any other particular duty whatſoever; becauſe through the corruption of Nature and the pride of mens Spirits, the greateſt part of Mankind are *tarda nomina*, ſuch Debters as will abide calling on, not willing to pay more than needs muſt, nor that but with ſome grudging. But how ſhall the Miniſter be able to do this * with Authority? or, how ſhall he ſecure himſelf and his endeavours the mean while from Scorn and Contempt, if he ſhall not be able firſt competently to convince the perſons he is to deal withal, that ſuch Subjection and Obedience is their bounden duty? For vain it is to think that empty words ſhould have any ſtrong operation

* Μετὰ πάσης ἐπιταγῆς. Tit. 2. 15.

operation upon the wills and affections of men in any thing required to be done of them, without repreſenting to their Underſtandings ſomewhat to make the Propoſal ſeem reaſonable. And then foraſmuch as the Obligation to thoſe Duties in Inferiours ariſeth from, and is commenſurate unto that Power wherewith Superiours are entruſted, (as hath been partly already ſhewn) the moſt proper and rational courſe that can be taken to perſuade men effectually to the performance of thoſe Duties, is by informing them rightly and clearly what that Power is, and whence it is derived.

XII. True it is, that for the more eaſe of the Governours, and better ſatisfaction of the People, in ſecuring their Properties, preſerving Peace among them, and doing

doing them Juſtice, the abſolute and unlimited Sovereignty which Princes have by the Ordinance of God, hath at all times, and in all Nations been diverſly limited and bounded in the ordinary exerciſe thereof, by ſuch Laws and Cuſtoms as the Supreme Governors themſelves have conſented unto and allowed. As with us in *England*, there are ſundry Caſes wherein a Subject, in maintainance of his Right and Property, may wage Law with the King, bring his Action and have Judgment againſt him in open Court; and the Judges in ſuch Caſe are bound by their Oaths and Duties to right the Party according to Law, againſt the King as well as againſt the meaneſt of his Subjects. And it is very true alſo, that where any Controverſie ariſeth about

Meum and *Tuum*, or Suit groweth between the King and one or more of his Subjects, (as it may be about ſome *Tenure*, *Grant*, *Privilege*, *Uſage*, or other thing) the debating and determining of every ſuch Doubt or Controverſie belongeth to the learned Lawyers and reverend Judges, who are preſumed to be beſt skilled in the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land, as their proper ſtudy, wherein they are daily converſant, and not to Divines, who (as Divines) are no competent Judges in ſuch matters, nor do they come within the compaſs of their Sphere. All this therefore muſt be granted; yet is not the Divine hereby wholly excluded from having his part, and that proper and peculiar to him, even in the niceſt Law Caſes; ſo far as they relate to Morality and

Practice

Practice in point of Conſcience. For Humane Laws cannot be the adequate meaſure of Moral Duty in the judgment of any reaſonable Man,)for *Atheiſts*, though Maſters of never ſo much Reaſon, I reckon not of as reaſonable Men) the Laws being finite and fixed, but the circumſtances of Mens Actions, on which their lawfulneſs and unlawfulneſs chiefly dependeth, various and infinite. The Laws allow (and of neceſſity ſo muſt) many things to be done, which an honeſt Man would be loth to do; and affordeth ſundry advantages, which one that feareth God, and maketh conſcience of his ways, ought not to take. As then, when the whole buſineſs under conſideration is perfectly ſtated, with all the material circumſtanees thereunto belonging, as to

matter of Fact, if any doubt ariſe what in ſuch caſe may be done or not done in point of Law, wiſe men uſe to take the adviſe and direction of their learned Counſel skilled in the Laws: In like manner, if any doubt ariſe, what in the ſame Caſe ſo ſtated as before is fit to be done or not done in point of Conſcience; whence can any Man ſeek for reſolution and inſtruction ſo properly and rationally, as from the mouth of a learned, grave, and ſober Divine? *The Prieſts lips ſhould preſerve knowledge, and they ſhould ſeek the Law at his Mouth*, Mal. 2. 7.

XIII. Whether what I have now laſt inſiſted upon will be taken for a Digreſſion or not, is at the Readers Courteſie, and as he will interpret it. To me it ſeemed pertinent enough to the Objection,

and

and ſomewhat needful alſo to be taken notice of, in regard of the great Clamour raiſed againſt Church-men for thruſting their Sickle in every Mans Corn; by thoſe Men, who (it ſeemeth) have not conſidered, or not with an equal eye, how buſily and magiſterially Men of other Profeſſions adventure into the World their bold dictates, not only in matters concerning Church-diſcipline and Government, but even in the deepeſt Points of Polemical and School-Divinity. But otherwiſe, and as in relation to the preſent Treatiſe, I confeſs it might well enough have been ſpared. Wherein the reverend Author, without medling with theſe Punctilio's of the Law, undertaketh no more but to declare and aſſert the Power of Sovereign Princes, as the godly

Fathers and Councils of the ancient Catholick Church from the evidence of Holy Scripture, and the moſt judicious Heathen Writers by diſcourſe of Reaſon from the light of Nature, have conſtantly taught and acknowledged the ſame: as to the unprejudiced Reader by the peruſal of the Book it ſelf will eaſily appear. And it muſt be a ſtrange perverſeneſs of ſpirit in any perſon whoſoever he be, that ſhall affirm ſuch an undertaking by a Divine, to be a ſtretching himſelf beyond the lines and meaſure of his Calling.

XIV. And as for the Sovereignty, be it as it will be with other States and Commonwealths in regard of their Conſtitution: to us of this Nation it is ſo evident, where it reſideth, that we need not to have recourſe to Statſemen

or

or Lawyers for Information in that point. The known Laws of the Land have declared it ſo fully, and particularly the Oath of Supremacy expreſſed it ſo clearly, that any Man of ordinary capacity may underſtand it as well as the deepeſt Stateſman in the World. That which ſome talk of, a mixt Monarchy, (which by the way is an arrant Bull, a contradiction *in adjecto*, and deſtroyeth it ſelf,) and others dream of ſuch a Co-ordination in the Government, as was hatched amidſt the heat of the late Troubles, but never before heard of in our Land; are in very Truth no better than ſenſleſs and ridiculous Fancies. Which although ſome Men have framed to themſelves out of their own vain imaginations, made

them as gay as they could, and then ſet them up as Idols to be adored by the Populacy, always apt to admire what they underſtand not; yet are they not able to ſtand up in the preſence of that Oath, but muſt fall flat to the ground before it, as *Dagon* before the Ark, and be broken all to pieces. Are not the words of the Oath [*That the Kings Highneſs is the only Supreme Governor of this Realm, &c.*] as plain and obvious to every mans underſtanding, as the wit of Man can deviſe? and ought not every Oath to be ſworn and taken, *according to the plain and common ſenſe and underſtanding of the words* wherein it is expreſſed and adminiſtred? It were an inexcuſable tyranny in the State, to the enſnaring of the Con-

Conſciences of many thouſands of well-meaning and Loyal Subjects, to require that Oath to be taken in ſuch a form of Words, if it were to be underſtood in any other ſenſe than thoſe words literally import, and that ſenſe not made known to them by ſome publick Declaration or other. For then how could ſuch an Oath be ſworn and taken (as every Oath ought to be) in *truth*, and *judgment*, and *righteouſneſs*? Jer. 4. 2.

XV. As for thoſe in the next place that would derive the Original of all Government from the People by way of Pact or Contract: It may ſuffice to ſay that they take that for granted which never yet was proved, nor (I dare ſay) will ever be proved while the World ſtandeth, either from

from Scripture, Reaſon or Hiſtory. *Jus gladii*, the right and power of the Sword (which is really the Sovereign Power) belongeth we know to Kings, but it is * *by the Ordinance of God*, not the donation of the People: For † *He beareth the Sword* (St. *Paul* telleth us) as God's Miniſter, from whom he received it; and not as the Peoples Miniſter, who had no right to give it becauſe they never had it themſelves. If any ſhall ſay they had, the proof lieth on their part, to ſhew how they came by it: whether God gave it them or they took it themſelves. If God gave it them, let it be made appear when and where the firſt Grant was made; let ſome evidence be produced to juſtifie the Claim, or at leaſt ſome credible Teſtimony, or pregnant Preſumption

* Τῆ Θεῦ διατάγῆ. Rom. 13. 2.
† Θεῦ διάκονός. Ibid.
Deut. 17. 14, 15. *quære.*

ption to render it probable that there was ſome ſuch thing done, though the Records be loſt. If none of all this can be done, it remaineth, that if they had it, they took it. And if they ſo did, it was ſaucily and Sacrilegiouſly done at the firſt; and by our Saviours preſage, *Mat.* 26. 52. like enough to proſper with them accordingly at the laſt.

XVI. Beſides, the ſuppoſed contract it ſelf is encombred with ſo many doubts and difficulties, that it is not poſſible for the wit of man to deviſe *ſalvo's* or expedients ſufficient to reſcue it from infinite intanglements and irreconcileable contradictions. I believe it would trouble the ableſt of them all that hold this opinion, to give a direct ſatisfactory anſwer (amongſt a world of Queries more that might be

be tendered) to theſe following Interrogatories: Firſt, for the Perſons contracting; Of what ſort of perſons did the People, who are ſuppoſed to have made the firſt Contract in this kind, conſiſt? Were all, without difference of Age, Sex, Condition, or other reſpect, promiſcuouſly admitted to drive the bargain, or not? Had Women, and Children, and Servants, and Mad-men, and Fools, the freedom of Suffrage, as well as Men of Age and Fortunes, and Underſtanding? Or were any of them excluded? If any excluded, who excluded them? by whoſe order, and by what Authority was it done? and who gave them that Authority? If all were admitted, whether with equal right to every one, or with ſome inequality? Was the Wives intereſt towards

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making up the bargain equal with that of her Husband? and the Childs with that of his Parents? and the Servants (if there were or could be any ſuch thing as Maſter and Servant) with that of his Maſter? If every one had not an equal ſhare and intereſt in the buſineſs, whence did the Inequality ariſe? who made the difference between them? and what right had any Man, and how came he to have that right, to give more or leſs power to one than to another? If all were equal, who could ſummon the reſt to convene together? or appoint the day and place of meeting? or when they were met, take upon him the Authority and Office of regulating their proceedings, of preſiding or moderating in the Aſſembly, of determining ſuch doubts and differences as might

might ariſe while matters were uuder debate, of calculating the voices, and drawing up the Articles of the Agreement, in caſe they ſhould agree?

XVII. But let us imagine all theſe could be declared, and the Contract made as they would have it; yet would the force and obligation of it remain queſtionable ſtill: For it may be demanded, whether the majority of Votes ſhall conclude all that are preſent, Diſſenters as well as others? And whether by virtue of an Act of thoſe upon the place, an obligation ſhall lie upon ſuch as are caſually abſent, or willingly abſent themſelves, when it was free for them ſo to do, no man having power to require their appearance? And whether a Contract made by ſuch Perſons as were

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at liberty before, can debar thoſe that ſhall ſucceed them in the next Generation from the uſe of that Liberty their Anceſtors had and enjoyed? If ſo, by what Law or Right are the ſaid reſpective perſons ſo concluded? and whence ſhould that obligation ſpring? None of theſe things look like the dictates of the Law of Nature, and other Law beſides that (according to our *Hypotheſis*) when as yet there was no Government, there could be none. And the Contract it ſelf, as a bare Contract, without the help of ſome Law or other to give it force, cannot operate upon any but the Contractors; it cannot have any cogency upon thoſe that never gave conſent thereunto.

XVIII. Beſides theſe and I know not how many more Difficulties no

no leſs inſoluble, one thing there is which puzleth the men of this Opinion very much, and wherewith a man that were ſo diſpoſed might make himſelf ſome ſport: *to wit*, the Circle (between Property and Government) which they have conjured themſelves into, and wherein they run round even unto Giddineſs, (like Men in a Maze or Labyrinth) not knowing which way to get out. That which ſome have ſaid, becauſe when they are put to it they muſt ſay ſomething, *viz. That Dominion and Property is in order of Nature before Government*, be it true or be it falſe, as to their purpoſe ſignifieth nothing; unleſs it could be made out that they were before it in *order of Time* alſo. This Diſpute is not much unlike that Problem in *Macrobius*, *Ovúmne prius fuerit, an gallina?*

gallina? Whether were firſt the Hen or the Egg? We cannot imagine there could be a Hen, but we muſt ſuppoſe there muſt have been an Egg firſt, out of which that Hen muſt have been hatched: neither can we imagine there could be an Egg, but we muſt ſuppoſe there muſt have been a Hen firſt, to lay that Egg. Semblably here, We cannot imagine Property, but we muſt ſuppoſe ſome Government firſt; becauſe the Right which any Man hath to that wherein he claimeth a Property muſt accrue to him by ſome Law, and that ſuppoſeth Government: Nor can we imagine a Government, one of the principal ends whereof is the preſervation of mens Properties who live together in one Society, but we muſt ſuppoſe there were firſt ſuch Properties to

be ſo preſerved. True it is, that a meer Rationaliſt, (that is to ſay in plain Engliſh, *an Atheiſt of the late Edition*) who giveth more faith to ſuch Heathen Philoſophy as affirmeth the World to have been *ab æterno*, than to Divine Revelation which aſſureth us it had a beginning; (and ſome of the great Champions of the opinion we now ſpeak of, have given cauſe enough of ſuſpicion that they are little better:) ſuch a one I ſay cannot poſſibly get out of the Circle, or ſolve the difficulty in either of the aforeſaid Inſtances: But to us, who believe the Scriptures and acknowledge a Creation, the ſolution of both is equally eaſie. If we will but follow the Clue of the Sacred Hiſtory in the four firſt Chapters of *Geneſis*, it will fairly lead us out of theſe Labyrinths in

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a plain way, and without any great trouble. It is certain that God in the firſt Creation made all living Creatures, each in their kind, in the full ſtate and perfection of their Nature, and thence we may conclude, that undoubtedly the Hen was before the Egg. And it is no leſs certain, that as ſoon as *Adam* was created, God gave to him as an univerſal Monarch, not only Dominion over all his fellow-Creatures that were upon the face of the Earth, but the Government alſo of all the inferiour World, and of all the Men that after ſhould be born into the World ſo long as he lived; ſo as whatſoever Property any other Perſons afterwards had or could have in any thing in any part of the World, (as *Cain* and *Abel*, 'tis well known, had their Properties

in ſeveral, and diſtinct either from other) they held it all of him, and had it originally by his gift or aſſignment, either immediately or mediately. Whence we may alſo conclude, both in *Hypotheſi*, that *Adam*'s Government was before *Cain*'s Property; and in *Theſi*, that undoubtedly Government was before Property. And we have great reaſon to believe that after the Flood the ſole Government was at firſt in *Noah*, and whatſoever either Property in any thing they poſſeſſed in ſeveral, or ſhare in the Government over any part of the World afterward any of his Sons had, they had it by his ſole allotment and Authority, and tranſmitted the ſame to their Poſterity meerly upon that account; without awaiting the Election or conſent of, or entering into

into any Articles or Capitulations with the People that were to be governed by them. Thoſe words in *Gen.* 10. 32. ſeem to import as much, *Theſe are the families of the ſons of* Noah *in their generations after their Nations: and by them were the Nations divided in the Earth after the Flood.* And ſo this ſuppoſed Pact or Contract, which maketh ſuch a noiſe in the World, proveth to be but a Squib, Powder without ſhot, that giveth a crack, but vaniſheth into Air and doth no execution.

XIX. That laſt from the *ill timing* of the Publication, is ſo poor an objection that it is ſcarce worth the anſwering. Subjection and Obedience to Superiours, beſides that they are duties of perpetual obligation, equally with all thoſe mentioned together with

them in that fore-cited paſſage of the Apoſtle, *Tit.* 3. 1, 2. are alſo (as hath been ſaid) of ſo great publick concernment otherwiſe; and withall ſo little looked upon as Duties by the moſt of Men, that the preſſing upon the Peoples Conſciences the performance thereof, whether by Word or Writing, cannot with any pretence of Reaſon be deemed unſeaſonable at any time. Nor hath the great mercy of God vouchſafed to theſe Nations in the happy, and little leſs than miraculous Reſtauration of our gracious Sovereign to his Fathers Throne, or the general alacrity of our People in owning his Sovereignty, rendred the Truths in this Treatiſe aſſerted any whit leſs neceſſary to be taught and known as the Times now are, than in the Times of our late ſad Troubles

bles and diſtractions. As will be eaſily yielded by all ſuch, as either have diligently obſerved the temper and carriage of the moſt active men of theſe Times, or ſhall duly take into conſideration (amongſt many other things which might be added) theſe few enſuing particulars:

1. The deſperate Principles and Reſolutions of *Quakers*, *Fifth-Monarchy-men*, and other Enthuſiaſtick Sectaries, of what denomination ſoever, who utterly refuſe to take the Oath of Supremacy; and what multitudes in a few years, for want of timely coercion, they are increaſed into in all parts of the Land.

2. How ſtrangely ſome of thoſe that have taken the ſaid Oath (and they a far more conſiderable Party than the former) do yet ſeek to

mince it, by ſuch an interpretation of the word *Onely*, as quite deſtroyeth the force of it, and leaveth a gap open for any rebellious attempt to enter, that ſhall offer ſo to do.

3. That the Miniſters of that Party, who in their Prayers before and after Sermon do not uſually ſhew themſelves over-ſtudious of Brevity, are generally obſerved when they pray for the King (whether for fear of offending their Grandees, or as a diſcriminating Character of *Shibboleth*, whereby to diſtinguiſh themſelves from men of different Principles from th m, or for whatever other reaſon it is) to omit in reciting his Majeſties Royal Titles that Clauſe which in former and peaceable Times was generally uſed, [*---in all Cauſes and over all Perſons, as well Eccleſiaſtical*

ſtical as Temporal, in his Dominions, Supreme Governor.]

4. With what boldneſs ſome of the ſaid Miniſters do in their ordinary Prayers and Sermons openly aſperſe the King and his Government? and with what cunning other ſome of them do covertly and glancingly inject ſuſpitions into the minds and thoughts of their credulous Auditors concerning the ſame; by theſe means to beget in the People an opinion (to which the common ſort are as eaſily perſwaded as to any other thing in the World) that they are not ſo well governed as they ſhould be? The old experimented Artifice by which *Abſalom* ſtole away the hearts of the People from their Allegiance.

5. What endeavours have been uſed, that the Encroachments made

made upon the Regalities, by ſuch advantages as the late Kings either neceſſities or condeſcenſions miniſtred, ſhould ſtill continue? and that all publick actings from the beginning of the Long-Parliament till the Year 1648. (whereof it were a miracle if ſome, whilſt the Diſpute was ſo hot, were not illegal enough, and unprecedented) ſhould be avowed and juſtified?

6. What a World of wicked Pamphlets, Sermons, and other Treatiſes full of moſt dangerous and ſeditious Poſitions have been ſent abroad within theſe few laſt years, vented and diſperſed through all the parts of the Kingdom, and lie ſtill upon the Stalls and in the Shops free for any man that liſt to buy?

When all this, and ſome other things

things (which, to avoid the provoking of ſome unpeaceable Spirits, I forbear to mention) are notorious of themſelves, and ſufficiently known to the whole Nation, let any man now ſay, if he can ſhew cauſe why it ſhould be either unſeaſonable or unneceſſary that Books ſhould be publiſhed to aſſert the juſt Right and Power of Princes, and to re-mind the People of their bounden duty of Subjection and Obedience?

Let this learned Treatiſe then in the Name of God go forth and proſper, according to the pious intention of the Reverend Author now in peace, and the hearty deſires and prayers of the Publiſhers: That Princes remembring from whom they have their Authority, may with all faithfulneſs exerciſe it to the honour and glory of him that

that gave it, to the comfort, benefit and happineſs of the People under their Government, as the end for which it was given; and to the furtherance and advantage of their own Trial at that laſt great day, when they are to render an account for all the Power committed to their truſt, and how they have adminiſtred the ſame. And that all Subjects, duly conſidering whoſe Authority their Princes have, may faithfully ſerve, honour and humbly obey them according to Gods holy Word and Ordinance. So ſhall Peace and Righteouſneſs flouriſh upon Earth, and God ſhall ſend down his bleſſing both upon King and People from Heaven. Even ſo, *Amen.*

London, *Dec.* 31.
MDCLX.

ROB. *Lincoln.*

PART I.

Of the Power communicated by God to the PRINCE.

I. THat Queſtion which our Saviour propounded touching *John*'s Baptiſm, is moſt conſiderable in the point we have now in hand concerning Magiſtracy, **Whence was it? from Heaven, or from Men?* For if the Authority of it ſhall be found to have no higher Spring than this Earth, the Streams of our Obedience will be raiſed to no higher a pitch than that Fountain: But if the deſcent thereof ſhall appear to be derived from Heaven, a † *neceſſity of ſubjection* to it will ariſe, *not for fear of puniſhment alone, but for Conſcience ſake,* and that duty which we owe unto God Almighty.

* Mat. 21. 25.

† Διὸ ἀνάγκη ὑποτάσσεσθαι οὐ μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὸ συνείδησιν. Rom. 13. 5.

II. That *John*'s Baptiſm was *from Heaven,* we are ſure, becauſe ‖ *the Word of God came unto him,* by vertue whereof he was * *ſent to Baptize with Water*: the Baptiſm in that reſpect being not properly to be accounted his, but

‖ Luke 3. 2.

* John 1, 33.

but God's; and he only to be eſteemed God's Miniſter therein. Even ſo for Magiſtrates, our Saviour declareth that God was pleaſed to grace them with his own name, becauſe * *the Word of God came unto them*, that is, his appointment and commandment, that they ſhould rule in his name, and in his room. Whereupon they alſo are recommended unto us as † *Gods Miniſters*, and their judgments as his judgments; witneſs that Charge given to the Judges by *Moſes* || *You ſhall not be afraid of the face of man, for the judgment is Gods*; and by King *Jehoſophat* after him, * *Take heed what ye do, ye judge not for man, but for the Lord, who is with you in judgment.* And therefore as † *the wiſdom of God ſaid, I will ſend them Prophets* (among whom there was || *none greater than* John *the Baptiſt*;) ſo the wiſdom of the ſame God alſo ſaid, * *By me Kings reign, and Princes decree juſtice; by me Princes rule, and Nobles*, even *all the Judges of the Earth.* All of them, whether ſupreme or ſubordinate, whether within or without Chriſt's Church: For unto all of them belongeth that divine Sentence delivered by S. *Paul*, † *let every Soul be ſubject unto the higher powers; for there*

* John 10.35.

†Rom. 13.4,6.

|| Deut. 1.17.

* 2 Chron. 19.6.

† Luke 11.49.

|| Luke 7.28.

*Pro. 8.15,16.

† Rom. 13: 1, 2.

is no power but of God, and the powers that be, are ordained of God: whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.

III. Neither doth S. *Peter* any whit swerve from his * *beloved brother Paul,* and *the wisdom given unto him,* when he requireth us † *to submit our selves to every Ordinance of man,* or (as the Original hath it) *to every humane creature, for the Lords sake.* Of which place we find divers and various Expositions; the first whereof, and not the worst, is that of the old *Syriack* Interpreter, who thus renders it, *Be subject to all the sons of men for God*; or as the framers of our Book of Common Prayer (in the Epistle appointed to be read the third Sunday after *Easter*) seem to have expressed it, *Submit your selves* [to] *every man for the Lords sake*; taking man there κατ' ἐξοχὴν, for a man in authority, as in *Gen.* 9. 6. For the clearer understanding whereof we are first to note, that the Writers of the New Testament being Jews, do ordinarily frame their Greek according to the usage of their own Language; and that the Hebrews do usually design *mankind* by the name of בליות, which in his proper significa-

tion

* 3 Pet. 3.15.

† Ὑποτάγητε πάσῃ ἀθρωπίνῃ κτίσει διὰ τὸν Κύριον. 1 Pet. 2. 13.

tion denoteth the *creatures* of God in general, but is by them in a peculiar manner appropriated to man, the nobleſt of the reſt. Among the innumerable examples which might be produced out of the Rabbins for the proof of this, I will make choice of this one Sentence of Rabbi *Jeremiah* (one of their ancient Doctors) recited in *Rabba bar Nachman* * in his great Gloſs upon *Deuteronomy* for the matters ſake, which may otherwiſe ſerve alſo unto the purpoſe which we have now in hand, אין נברואה דן הקב"ה אלא הקדוש ברוך הוא. *No Creature may judge the King but the holy and bleſſed GOD alone.* So anſwerable to this in the New Teſtament St. *Mark* doth thus expreſs the tenor of the Commiſſion given by our Saviour to his Apoſtles, *Go into all the World, and preach the Goſpel † to every creature:* and S. *Paul* declareth the execution thereof, that the Goſpel was accordingly preached to || *every creature which is under Heaven*; the word κτίσις, or *creature*, in both places denoting *man* only.

* ובראים רבח Seder. שופטים Page 196. b. edit. Cracov.

† Πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει, Mark. 16. 15.

|| Ἐν πάσῃ τῇ κτίσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανόν. Col. 1. 23.

IV. Next, it is to be obſerved, that to thoſe general terms which are applied in a ſpecial manner to the more excellent ſort of the ſame kind, for better

ter distinctions sake it is not unusual to add an Epithet, whereby the restriction thereof to the intended particular may be more clearly understood. Take for example the word נפש, or *soul*, the native signification whereof in the Hebrew Tongue (and so of ψυχὴ in the Greek answering thereunto) neither descendeth so low as to comprehend the *vegetables* under it; nor riseth so high, that of it self it should only denote the *rational*; but in the middle kind of way betwixt both, properly doth signifie that which the Greeks call ζῶον, the Latins *Animal*, a Creature endued with life and sense: that of the Latines being more immediately imported by the word נפש it self, which is *anima*; the other of the Greek by the Adjective חיה *living*, which for further explication sake * we sometimes find adjoyned to it. Yet we see withall, that κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or by way of excellency, *Man* in particular is presented unto us by those generals, both of *living*, (as when *Eve* is said to be † *the mother of all things*) and of *soul*; a name whereby he is as ordinarily set out unto us by ‖ the holy writers, as he is by ברית or

* Gen. 9. 10. Lev. 11. 19. which Rev. 16. 3. is ψυχὴ ζῶσα.
† Gen. 3. 20.
‖ Gen. 36. 6. Exod. 12. 16. Numb. 19. 18. 22. Deut. 10. 22. (with Acts 7. 14.) Jer. 43. 6. 1 Pet. 3. 20. and in that very place Rom. 13.

Let every soul (that is, every man) *be subject to the higher powers.*

Creature, by the Rabbins. But as the word נפש being in it ſelf indifferent to
* Num. 11. 28. ſignifie * both *Man* and *Beaſt*, is ſometimes for better diſtinction ſake accom-
† Num. 31. 35. 40. 1 Chron. 5. 21. Ezek. 27. 13. panied with the addition of † האדם which is as much as ψυχὴ ἀνθρωπίνη, or an *humane ſoul*; ſo the more general word κτίσις, or *creature*, being applied the ſame way, might very well here be thought to have the Adjective ἀνθρωπίνη, or *humane*, conjoyned with it; though for the matter nothing at all were thereby added unto it, the one word being only an explication of the other.

V. Laſtly, it may be conſidered, that ſentences delivered in general terms, are not always intended to be taken in their full latitude, but to have their commodious reſtrictions, according to the quality and nature of the matter in hand: as not to go further, in this ſelf-ſame Chapter of St. *Peter*, we are required
|| 1 Pet. 2, 17. to || *honour all men*; where yet we are not to think the Apoſtle meant, that Maſters were tied to honour their Servants, or would any way oppoſe that which by *David* was delivered for a
* Pſal. 15. 4. Character of Gods child, * *in whoſe eyes a vile perſon is contemned, but he honou-*

honoureth them that fear the Lord: but as *Cajetan* expoundeth the place, *Honour all men*, that is, * *every one according to his degree and merit.* As therefore that general Rule of his muſt be limited by that ſpecial explication thereof delivered by St. *Paul*, † *Give to all men their due, honour to whom honour is due:* ſo likewiſe this other precept of Subjecting our ſelves to all men, muſt receive the ſame reſtriction; as if it had been ſaid, *be ſubject to all men to whom ſubjection is due*, and that for *God*, and the conſcience of the duty you owe unto him, who hath put you in ſubjection under them. Which differeth very little from the Expoſition given by *Bede* here, || *Every humane creature*, he ſaith, *meaning every dignity of men, every perſon, every principality, to which the Divine Ordinance would have us ſubject; for that is it which he intendeth by ſaying for God, becauſe there is no power but from him alone.*

* *unumquemq; ſecundum gradum & ordinem.* Caj. in 1 Pet. 2. 17.

† Rom. 13. 7.

|| *Omni humanæ creaturæ dicit, omni dignitati hominum, omni perſonæ, omni principatui, cui nos divina diſpoſitio ſubdi voluerit: hoc eſt enim quod ait, propter Deum. quia non eſt poteſtas niſi à Deo.* Beda in 1 Pet. 2. *Subditi eſtote omni humanæ creaturæ*, i. e. *omnibus hominibus nobis præpoſitis.* Haymo in Rom. 13.

VI. *David Pareus* (altho otherwiſe no very great friend to the Su-

preme power of Kings) yet putteth us here in mind, that the † word κτίσις *uſed in this Text, doth lead us to the conſideration of God, the prime author of Magiſtracy: For tho Magiſtrates* (thus his words run) *are ſaid to be created, that is, ordained by men, yet their firſt creator properly is God alone, unto whom only all creation primarily doth appertain.* For the fuller explication of which conception, theſe obſervations following may be taken into conſideration; *Firſt*, that this word κτίσις doth ſignifie either a *Creation* or a *Creature*; by both which the holy writers (whoſe manner of ſpeaking is here more to be reſpected than the language of any other Authors) do expreſs the work, not of any mortal man, but of the Almighty and ever-living God: For him alone, as the prime efficient of all, the Scripture honoureth with the ſtyle of *Creator*; and the anſwerable effect both of *Creation*, as *motus*, and *Creature*, as *res motu facta*, it aſcribeth to him alone.

† Κτίσεως appellatio ad Deum primum authorem nos revocat. Etſi enim Magiſtratus creari, hoc eſt, ordinari etiam ab hominibus dicuntur, tamen eorum creator primus propriè eſt ſolus Deus, cui ſoli omnis creatio primò competit. D. Pareus in Appendice Commentar. ad cap. 13. ep. ad Rom. dubio 3.

VII. *Secondly*, That this in the Scripture is not reſtrained to the firſt creation of all things only, but extended likewiſe to the works of Gods providence, whether wrought by himſelf immediately,

mediately, or by the intervention of other ſecondary cauſes. So the propagation of the *ſpecies* by the means of natural generation is accounted a continued *Creation*; * and Gods bleſſings and judgments upon Mankind, though others be uſed as his inſtruments in the effecting thereof, are ſaid by him likewiſe to be created, † *I form the light*, ſaith he, *and create darkneſs; I make peace, and create evil: I the Lord do all theſe things.* || *I have created the Smith that bloweth the coles in the fire, and that bringeth forth an inſtrument for his work: and I have created the waſter to deſtroy.* In which ſenſe alſo the Son of *Syrach* affirmeth * *Husbandry to be created by the moſt High*; both becauſe the thing it ſelf was at firſt ordained by him, and for the neceſſary upholding thereof by the induſtry of the Husbandman, † *his God doth inſtruct him* and *doth teach him.*

† Pſal. 102. 18 & 104. 30. Ezek. 21, 30. & 28. 13, 15.

† Eſay 45. 7.

|| Eſay 54. 16.

* Γεωργίαν ὑπὸ ὑψίστου ἐκτισμένην. Ecclus. 7. 16.

† Eſay 21. 16.

VIII. *Thirdly*, that St. *Peter* by *every humane creature* intendeth to ſignifie here, not things, but perſons; as is manifeſt by the diviſion ſubjoyned, *whether it be to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors, &c.* for the expreſſing whereof, the term of *creature* is far more proper than either that of *creation*, or that of *ordinance*.

IX. *Fourthly*, That as man, who by Gods ordinance was appointed to have * dominion over the other creatures, hath by way of excellency (as we have heard) the name of κτίσις, or *creature*, attributed unto him as bearing therein a peculiar † stamp of the Image of his Creator: So among men themselves, such as by God's appointment are advanced to the dignity of bearing *rule* over others, by like proportion may in a more special manner have the word *creature* appropriated unto them, as carrying a deeper impression of this || image, and likewise of their Creator, by that power which it hath pleased him to grant to them, even over those to whom * *over the other works of his hands he hath given dominion.*

X. *Fifthly*, That such a creature may very properly for distinctions sake obtain the name of ἀνθρωπίνη κτίσις, as Gods especial *creature* among and over men.

* Gen. 1. 26. 28.
Sanctius his animal, mentisq; capacius altæ.
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera posset;
Natus homo est. Ovid Met.

† Τὸ κατ' εἰκόνα τοῦτο ἐστιν, ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς βασιλεύει ἐν παντὶ κόσμῳ, καὶ ἄρχει καὶ ἐξουσιάζει πάντων τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ. καὶ τῇ γῇ, οὕτω ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἄρχων, καὶ βασιλεὺς, καθέστηκε πάντων τῶν ἐπιγείων πραγμάτων, καὶ αὐτεξουσίως ὃ βούλεται πράττει. καθάπερ ὁ Θεός. Author. quæst. 55. in Script. tomo 2. oper. Athan. p. 334. edit. Commelinian.

|| Εἰκὼν εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα διὰ χειρὸς ἄγεις. Thou art the Image of God, and the Image of God dost thou also lead and Govern, saith *Gregory Nazianzen* to the President of his Country. *Orat. 17. ad cives timore perculsos.*

* Psal. 8. 6.

men. For as * *every Prieſt taken from among men is ordained for men in things pertaining to God, that he may offer gifts and ſacrifices for ſins*; ſo every Civil Magiſtrate alſo taken from among men, is ordained for men in things pertaining to men, † *that they may lead a quiet and peaceable life in all Godlineſs and Honeſty.* Whereupon the full meaning of the Apoſtle *Peter* in this place ſhould be, *Submit your ſelves to every Creature*, or to every * *man*, who is a creature conſtituted by God among, and over *men*; *for the Lords ſake*, whoſe creature he is in that place of Authority.

* Heb. 5. 1.

† 1 Tim. 2. 2.

* Which kind of *Enallage*, whereby an Adjective is put Subſtantively, hath been obſerved in St. *Peter* not unuſual, as namely in the ſecond Verſe of this Chapter, we tranſlate Τὸ λογικὸν γάλα, *the milk of the Word*, or, *the word which is milk*; and in the ſeventh Verſe of the Chapter following, ὡς ἀσθενεστέρῳ σκεύει τῷ γυναικείῳ ἀπονέμοντες τιμὴν, *giving honour unto the Wife as unto the weaker Veſſel.*

XI. *Calvin*, † *Beza*, * and other of our later Interpreters, do thus far alſo deliver their opinion, that the order of Civil Government is here called *an humane ordinance*, not becauſe men invented it, but becauſe it is proper to men; or (if you will have it in *Pareus* his expreſſion)

† *Humana dicitur ordinatio, non quod humanitas inventa fuerit, ſed quod propria hominum eſt digeſta & ordinata vivendi ratio.* Calvin in 1 Pet. 2. 13.

* *Humanam vocat, non quod humanitus ſit excogitata, (eſt enim hæc quoque donum Dei præclarum, ut* Demoſthenes *etiam ipſe tiſtatur) ſed quod hominum ſit propria, ut recte obſervat doctiſſimus Interpres.* Beza in eundem locum.

preſſion) || the Apoſtle calleth Magiſtracy *an humane ordinance or creation*, not *cauſally*, as if it were deviſed by men, or brought in only by the fanſie of men; but *ſubjectively*, becauſe it is adminiſtred by men; and *objectively*, becauſe it is exerciſed about the Government of humane Society; and *finally*, in reſpect of the end, becauſe it is appointed by God for the good of man, and the preſervation of Humane Society.

|| *Humanam ordinationem vocat Apoſtolus Magiſtratum, non cauſaliter, quod ſit ab hominibus excogitata, & hominum tantum libidine invecta; ſed ſubjective, quia ab hominibus geritur; & objective, quia circa gubernationem humanæ ſocietatis verſatur; & denique τελικῶς quia ad hominis bonum & converſationem humanæ ſocietatis à Deo eſt conſtituta.* D. Pareus in Append. Comment. in Rom. 13. dub. 3.

XII. But let us admit too, that it were ſo called *an humane ordinance* cauſally; becauſe the particular Forms of Government were inſtituted by the choice and counſel of man, and the particular Form of the Creation of the Governors were in mans appointment; as if the Apoſtle had ſaid, *Submit your ſelves* unto your Governors, by what *ordinance* or *humane creation* ſoever they do hold that Government, whether by Succeſſion, Election, or howſoever; yet, when with the very ſame breath he requireth this ſubjection to be performed

formed διὰ τὸν Κύριον, *for God*, or *the Lords ſake*, he doth clearly intimate, that God is to be acknowledged *the principal*, tho man be *the inſtrumental* cauſe of their Inſtitution.

XIII. The Miniſters of the Goſpel, we ſee, receive their Ordination from mans hand, & are appointed over their ſeveral Flocks by mans election; and yet it is moſt true withall, that * *God hath ſet them in the Church*, † Chriſt *hath given* them, and ‖ *over all the Flock the Holy Ghoſt hath made them overſeers*: With whom our Saviour having promiſed* *to be alway, even unto the end of the World*, as he was at the beginning with thoſe firſt Maſter-builders, which were Apoſtles † *not of men, neither by man, but by Jeſus Chriſt and God the Father*; that which he ſpeaketh of the firſt appertaineth no leſs unto the laſt, ‖ *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that deſpiſeth you deſpiſeth me, and he that deſpiſeth me deſpiſeth him that ſent me.*

* 1 Cor. 12. 28.
† Eph. 4. 11.
‖ Acts 20. 28.
* Mat. 28. 20.
† Gal. 1. 1.
‖ Luke 10. 16. *with* John 13. 20.

XIV. The Wife, we know, maketh choice of her Husband, and the mutual conſent of the Parties makes up the Matrimony; yet * *God* it is that *joyneth them both together*: and the conjunction being once made, the Wife by vertue there-

* Mat. 19. 6.

* Eph. 5. 22. thereof ſtandeth bound to * *ſubmit her ſelf unto her own Husband as to the Lord.* And as God by ſaying to our † Gen. 3. 16. firſt Mother *Eve*, † *Thy deſire ſhall be to thy Husband, and he ſhall rule over thee,* (as the Apoſtle out of that Law infers) ‖ 1 Cor. 14. 34. commanded women to ‖ *be in ſubjection,* and thereby eſtabliſhed an Headſhip in every ſingle Family: So after the poſterity of *Eve* began to be diſtinguiſh'd into Families, the ſame God, by uſing the like ſpeech to *Cain* concerning his * Gen. 4. 7. brother *Abel*, * *Unto thee ſhall be his de-* †*Vide* D. Heinſii Exercitat. ſacr. l. 7. c. 8. in 1 Cor. 11. 10. *ſire*, † *and thou ſhalt rule over him,* may ſeem to have conſtituted a principality in one man over divers Families, and thereby laid the foundation of Political Government; the Kingdom (as it ap- ‖ Gen. 49. 3. 2 Chron. 21. 3. peareth by the ‖ ordinary practice of the ſucceeding Times) together with the excellency of Dignity, & the excellency of Power, the two peculiar characters thereof) being an honour that deſcended upon the firſt-born, and not upon the younger Brother.

XV. Altho it may not be denied, but that (without any ſuch ſpecial direction) the very *light of Nature* would have enforced men at firſt to conjoyn many Families into one Body of a Civil Society,

Society and to ſubmit themſeves to the Government of ſome Superior: For, otherwiſe a diſſolution of Mankind would quickly enſue, and all come to ruine. To this purpoſe among the *Hebrews* that of *Rabbi Hananiah*, one of their Chief Prieſts, is much remembred, * *Pray for the peace* (or proſperity) *of the Kingdom; for if it were not for fear of Authority, every one would ſwallow down quick his neighbour:* Which is but an explication of that which a far better Author long before delivered touching the *Babylonian Monarchy*, (which was adverſe to the Religion of the *Jews* as that under which *Hananiah* lived;) †*Seek the peace of the City, whither I have cauſed you to be carried away Captives, and pray unto the Lord for it; for in the peace thereof ſhall ye have peace.* For the Chriſtians you may hear St. *Chyſoſtom* ſpeak, ‖*Take away the higher Powers, and all goes to wreck; neither will City nor Country, nor Family, nor Aſſembly, nor ought elſe ſtand; the ſtronger will devour the weaker, and all things be turned upſide down.* And *Cicero*, if you pleaſe, for

*הוי מתפלל בשלום חשל מלכות שאלם לא מדאח איש את רעהו חיום בלעו Pirke Abboth c. 3.

† Jer. 29. 7.

‖ Κἂν ἀνήλῃς τὰς ἀρχὰς, πάντα οἰχήσεται· καὶ οὐ πόλεις. οὐ χώρα, οὐκ οἰκία, οὐκ ἀγορά, οὐκ ἄλλο οὐδὲν στήσεται. ἀλλὰ πάντα ἀναταπήσεται, τῶν δυνατοτέρων τοὺς ἀσθενεστέρους καταπινόντων. Chryſon. in ep. ad Rom. Hom. 23. tom. 3. edit. Savil. p. 191. Vide etiam tom. 1. p. 905. tom. 4. p. 601. tom. 6. p. 502.

the

the Heathen, * *Without Government neither House, nor City, nor Nation, nor Mankind, nor Nature, nor the World it self could consist.*

* *Sine imperio nec domus ulla, nec civitas, nec gens, nec hominum universum genus stare, nec rerum natura omnis, nec ipse mundus potest.* Cic. 3. de Legib. in initio.

XVI. True it is, that in several States there are admitted several Forms of Government, the Supreme Authority being* somewhere placed in the person of one, which maketh a *Monarchy*; otherwhere in some of the chief, which they call an *Aristocracy*; and somewhere in the whole body of the People, from whence ariseth a *Democracy*. Likewise of *Monarchs* themselves, some come in by *Election*, some by hereditary *Succession*; And in all these Governments the subordinate Magistrates are raised, either by the immediate appointment of the Supreme, or by the election of such Persons or Corporations as they are pleased to communicate that power unto.

* *Cunctas nationes & urbes, aut populus, aut primores, aut singuli regunt.* Tacit. Annal. *lib.* 4.
Ἀνάγκη δ' ἔτι κύριον ἢ ἕνα, ἢ ὀλίγους. ἢ τοὺς πολλούς. Arist. Polit. lib. 3. cap. 5.

XVII. If this be so, and that Nature seeketh always to preserve it self, we may justly conclude, that Magistracy is rooted in the *Law of Nature*, and so in the Author of Nature, that is, God himself. To which purpose, for the general,

ral, it is noted by *Plutarch*, That * *a Governor politick is by nature always the Prince of the Commonwealth, as the Master-Bee is amongst the Bees:* and by *Aristides*, That, † *all Governors are by nature superiour to those that are under their command*; that || *this is a Law set by Nature, that the inferiour should yield obedience to the superiour; and if any man should account the abrogation of this Law to be a sign of Liberty, he did deceive himself*; * *the Law of Nature being hereby inverted, which requireth us to yield unto the eminency of our superiours, and to live according to the direction of our Governors.* And for the Regal Authority in particular, *Seneca* doth tell us, That † *Nature did first find out a King: Polybius*, That || *without any art, and by the guidance of Nature it self a Monarchy was first of all constituted. Diotogenes* the Pythagorean, That * *of those which by nature are most honourable, the best indeed is God, but upon earth, and among men, the King:* Yea, and *Aristo-*

* Φύσει μὲν οὖν ἄρχων ἀεὶ πόλεως ὁ πολιτικὸς ὥσπερ ἡγεμὼν ἐν μελίτταις. Plutarch. in præcept. gerend. reip.

† Πάντες μὲν οὖν ἄρχοντες φύσει κρείττους τῶν ὑπ' ἀττοῖς. Aristid. in Orat. Platon. 1. tom. 3. edit. Græcolat. in 8. p. 76.

|| Νόμος γάρ ἐστιν ὅτως φύσει κείμενος, ὡς ἀληθῶς ὑπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων καταδειχθεὶς ἀκούειν τὴν ἥττω τῶν κρείττονος· κἄν τις ἐλευθερίας σύμβολον ποιῆται τὸ διαφθείρειν τὸν νόμον, αὐτὸν ἐξαπατᾷ. Id. in Orat. de Concordia ad Rhodios, tom. 2. p. 391.

* Ὅτι ἀξιοῖς μεταβάλλειν τὴν τῆς φύσεως νόμον, ὃς κελεύει τὴν τῶν κρειττόνων ὑπερβολὴν ἀνέχεσθαι, καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὸ ἡγούμενον. Id. in Orat. de Paraphthegm. tom. 3. p. 673. 4. † *Natura commenta est regem.* Sen. de Clemen. l. 1. c. 19. || Πρώτου μὲν οὖν ἀκατασκεύως καὶ φυσικῶς συνίστα ται μοναρχία. Polyb. Hist. lib. 6. Τῶν μὲν φύσει τιμιωτάτων ἄριστον ὁ Θεός. τὰ δὲ περὶ γᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ βασιλεύς. Diotog. apud Stob. Serm. 46.

tle,

tle himself too, That * *by nature not only the Father hath the rule over his Children, bnt also the King over those who are within his Kingdom.*

* Φύσει τῆς γὰρ ἀρχηγὸς πατὴρ υἱῶν. καὶ πρόγονος ἐκγόνων, καὶ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευομένων. Arist. Ethic. Nichomach. lib. 8. cap. 13.

XVIII. But however in the Constitution of these, Mans hand may be an instrument, yet being once constituted, whether Supreme or Subordinate, in all of them we must respect the Commission received by them from the founder of *all rule, authority and power* at the beginning, and * the resumer thereof into his own hands again at the end of the World; both because † *we make those things our own unto which we impart our authority*; and because in all power established upon earth there is represented unto us an Image and superscription of that high eminency which is in him whom St. *Paul* || worthily glorifieth with the style of *the blessed and ONLY Potentate, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords; who ONLY hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, whom no man hath seen nor can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting.* In which words it is not unworthy our observation, that the Apostle

* 1 Cor. 15. 24.

† *Omnia nostra facimus quibus authoritatem nostram impertimur.* Gloss. in c. 1. extr. de præsumpt. & c. 1. de transactionib. ex illo Justin. Imp. in c. de vet. jur. enunt. l. 1. *Omnia merito nostra facimus, quia ex nobis omnis eis impertietur authoritas.*

|| 1 Tim. 6. 15, 16.

ſtle nameth him the *only Potentate*, in the ſame ſenſe that he ſaith, he *only hath immortality*. For, as Angels and the ſouls of men have immortality indeed, yet not originally from themſelves, but by his donation who only hath it abſolutely in himſelf, without dependence upon any other: ſo are there other *Potentates* alſo, yet ſuch as hold of him in chief, who hath only all fullneſs of power in himſelf, and diſtributeth what proportion thereof he thinketh meet to thoſe whom he hath entruſted with the Government of this World; according to the acknowledgment of King *David*, * *Thine, O Lord, is the greatneſs, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the Majeſty; for all that is in the heaven and in the earth is thine: thine is the Kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both Riches and Honour come of thee, and thou reigneſt over all, and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give ſtrength unto all.*

* 1 Chron. 29. 12, 13.

XIX. Why the Woman ought to cover her head (that is, her † face) in the

† As in Jer. 13. 3, 4. Esth. 6. 12. and 2 Sam. 15. 30. with Chap. 19. 21. *Mitris & lanis quædam non velant caput, ſed conligant; à fronte quidem protectæ, quæ proprie autem caput eſt, nudæ.* Tertul. de veland. virgin. cap. ult.

Aſſem-

Assembly, and not the man, St. *Paul* giveth this for a reason, * *The man is the image and glory of God, but the Woman is the glory of the man.* If we respect either those inward perfections wherewith God endowed the Soul at the beginning, † as *knowledge* in the Mind, || *righteousness and true holiness* in the Will; or that outward dominion which God granted to mankind over the other Creatures; it cannot be denied but male and female both were created by God * *in his own image.* But if we consider them as they stand in mutual relation one unto the other, or as they are heads of the œconomical Government; the man, being * *head of the woman,* is the immediate image and glory of God, but the woman is the image and glory of the man, deriving all her power and splendor from him, as the Moon doth from the Sun, according to that of *Justinian,* † *The Wives receive lustre from their Husbands rays*: and those solemn words which the women of *Rome* were taught to use at their Nuptials, *Ubi tui Caius ego Caia,* in effect this, || *Where thou art Master, there am I to be Mistress.*

* 1 Cor. 11.7.

† Col. 3. 10.

|| Eph. 4. 24.

* Gen. 1. 27.

† 1 Cor. 11. 13.

† Αἱ γαμετὰ συνεκλάμπουσι τῶν τῶν συνοικούντων ἀκτῖσι, τοῦτο αὐταῖς τοῦ νόμου διδωκότος. Justin. Novel. 105.

|| Ὅπου σὺ κύριος καὶ οἰκοδεσπότης, καὶ ἐγὼ κυρία καὶ οἰκοδέσποινα. Plutarch in quæstionib. Romanis.

XX. So

XX. So, (to riſe higher than Houſe-hold-Government) *God* in Scripture is made * *the head of all principality and power*; both of the † *principalities and powers in heavenly places*, whoſe miniſtry he uſeth in the inviſible, and of the ‖ *principalities and powers* here below, whoſe labours he imployeth in the viſible adminiſtration of the things of this World: unto both of which therefore he is pleaſed to impart as well his own name, as the title of his own children. For as Angels, * *the chief Princes*, (inveſted with the † *glory* and ‖ *power* of God) are ſtiled * *Gods*, and *the* † *ſons of God*; ſo the Princes and Judges of the Earth have frequently the title of ‖ *Gods* in holy Writ: and in one place, of *Gods*, and the *ſons of God* both together, *Pſal.* 82. 6. *I have ſaid, Ye are Gods, and all ſons of the moſt High.* Which in the Chaldee Paraph. is thus rendred; *Behold, ye are reputed as Angels, and all of you as it were Angels of the moſt High.* Such affinity in this reſpect there is * between thoſe celeſtial † *Spirits ſent forth to miniſter for them*

* Col. 2. 12. with 1 Pet. 3. 22.
† Col. 3. 10.
‖ Tit. 3. 1.

* Dan. 10. 13 † Luke 2. 9.
‖ Μετ' ἀγγέλων δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ. 2 Theſſ. 1. 7.
* Pſal. 8. 5. with Heb. 2. 7. and Pſal. 97. 7. with Heb. 1. 6.
† Job. 1. 6. and 2. 1. and 38. 7.
‖ Exod 21. 6. and 22. 8, 9, 28. Pſal. 82. 1.

* V. Epiphan. hæreſ. 40. edit. Græcol. p. 284.
† Λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα εἰς διακονίαν ἀποστελλόμενα. Heb. 1. 14.

who shall be heirs of salvation, and those terrestrial* *Angels of God*, who are † *his Ministers to us for good*; even || *Gods Ministers continually attending upon this very thing*, as S. *Paul* witnesseth. With whom among the Heathen also *Plutarch* agreeth fully, where he maketh the Government of a Kingdom to be * *a ministration of God*, and affirmeth Magistrates to † *be Gods Ministers* for the care and *welfare of mankind, either in the distribution of good things not yet had, or in the preservation of good things not yet enjoyed.*

* 2 Sam. 19. 27.

† Θεοῦ γὰρ διάκονος ἐστί σοι εἰς τὸ ἀγαθόν. Rom. 13. 4.

|| Λειτουργοὶ γὰρ Θεοῦ εἰσιν, εἰς αὐτὸ τοῦτο προσκαρτεροῦντες.

* Ὑπηρεσίαν Θεοῦ τὸ βασιλεύειν ἡγούμενος. Plutarch. in Numa.

† Ὑπηρετεῖν Θεῷ· πρὸς ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμέλειαν, ὅπως ἂν Θεὸς δίδωσιν ἀνθρώποις καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν, τὰ μὲν νέμωσι, τὰ δὲ φυλάττωσι. Id. ad principem indoctum.

XXI. Now these higher Powers unto whom it is *the will of God* we should *submit our selves for his sake*, are distinguished by S. *Peter* into two ranks, the Supreme and the Subordinate; the *King* †, the Supreme; the Subordinate, such *Governors* as are *sent by him for the punishment of evil doers, and the praise of them that do well:* Sent by the King, I mean, it being the || *office of him that*

1 Pet. 2. 13. 15.

† *Egregium culmen habentem*, as *Didymus Alexandrinus* here noteth, Ἐπ' ἄλλοισι δ' ἄλλοι μεγάλοι, τὸ δ' ἔσχατον κορυφοῦται βασιλεῦσι. Pind. Olymp. 1. sub fin.

|| Προσήκει τῷ τῆς ἀνωτάτῳ καὶ μεγίστης ἀρχῆς ἀξιωθέντι αἱρεῖσθαι διαδόχους οἱ συνάρξουσι καὶ συνδικάσουσι, καὶ τ' ἄλλα ὦσα κοινωφελῆ συνδιοικήσουσιν. Philo in libro de creatione Principis.

hath

hath the highest and greatest place of Government, to chuse such assistants as shall rule together with him in the administration of those things which belong to the publick utility; so saith *Philo*: and after him *Libanius* to the Emperor of his Time, * *Indeed, if it were possible that your own bodies might be every where, there would be no need that any Magistrates should be sent by you into the Provinces, you your selves being able to administer justice unto all, as the Sun is sufficient to give light unto them: but seeing that cannot be, you govern them by others, and by their sentence you do determine justice.* Which made S. *Paul* profess before *Festus* the Governor, sitting at *Cæsarea* upon the Bench, that he stood (not at his, but) at † *Cæsars Judgment-seat*; the other supplying his room only in that present place of Judicature. The Compiler of the Apostolical Constitutions (personating those Times wherein the Civil Government stood opposite to the Christian Faith) doth thus express this distribution; || *thou*

*Εἰ μὲν οἷόν τ' ἦν εἶναι πανταχοῦ τὰ ὑμέτερα σώματα, τῷ ἀχόντων οὐ δὲν ἂν τούτων ἔδει τῶν ἐπὶ τὰ ἔθνη παρ' ὑμῶν πεμπομένων, ἅπασιν ὑμῶν τοῖς δικαζομένοις ἀπορρώντων, ἅσπερ αὐτῆς τῆς ἡλίου λαμπηδόνος· ἐπεὶ δὲ τοῦτο οὐχ οἷόν τε τῆς, δι' ἑτέρων αὐτοῖς ἐφεστήκατε, διὰ τῆς ἐκείνων γνώμης ὑμεῖς τὰς ψήφους τίθεσθε. Libanius in orat. κατὰ τῶν προσεδρευόντων τοῖς ἄρχουσι.

†Acts 25.6,10

|| Τὸν βασιλέα φοβηθήσῃ, εἰδὼς ὅτι τοῦ κυρίου ἐστὶν ἡ χειροτονία. τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ τιμήσεις ὡς λειτουργοὺς Θεοῦ, ἔκδικοι γὰρ εἰσὶ πάσης ἀδικίας. Const. Apostol. l. 7. c. 17

ſhalt fear the King, conſidering that he is the election (or ordinance) of the Lord: thou ſhalt honour his Miniſtrates as the Miniſters of God, for they are avengers of all iniquity. Where for St. *Peters* ἡγεμόνες, it is obſervable that he uſeth the word ἄρχοντες, which in the ſingular commonly denotes the Prince, in plural, *Magiſtrates*: a term which in the propriety of the Latine Tongue belongs to ſubaltern Officers, and doth not comprehend the *Prince* himſelf, whoſe office it is to * *redreſs the unjuſt actions of the Magiſtrates, and to make void whatſoever ought not to have been done by them.* And herein he ſeemeth to make the ſame diſtinction between Βασιλεὺς and Ἄρχοντες, *the King and Magiſtrates*, which *Dio Chryſoſtomus* doth between Βασιλεία & Ἀρχή; † Ἀρχὴ *or Magiſtracy is called a legal adminiſtration of men according to Law*; Βασιλεία, *or Regality, is ſuch a Government as is not ſubject to the controll of any. The Law is the decree of the King. A Tyranny, which is contrary to theſe, is a violent and illegal uſage of men by one that is of greater ſtrength.*

* *Intercedere iniquitatibus magiſtratuum, infectumque reddere quicquid fieri non oportuerit.* Plin. Panegyric. ad Trajan.

† Λέγω δὲ ἀρχὴν μὲν ἄρχῃ νόμιμον ἀνθρώπων διοίκησιν κατὰ νόμον. Βασιλεία δὲ ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχὴ ὑπὸ νόμου βασιλέως δόγμα. Ὁ μὲν τύραννος καὶ ἡ τυραννὶς, ἐναντίον τούτοις βία καὶ παράνομος χρῆσις ἀνθρώπων τῷ δεινοτέρῳ πλέον. Dio Chryſoſt. in Orat. 3. de Regno. *ubi vocabuli δεινότερος uſum pleonaſticum recte obſervat vir doctiſſimus* Joannes Pricaus: *ut etiam in loco illo* Marc. 10. 42. Οἱ δοκοῦντες ἄρχειν τῶν ἐθνῶν, *pro quo* Mat. 20. 25. *ſimpliciter legitur*, οἱ ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐθνῶν.

XXII. For

XXII. For the clearer underſtanding whereof we may call to remembrance that difference which King *James* of never-dying memory, in the firſt Book of his *Baſilicon Doron* (out of *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, the great Maſters of Political learning,) doth make between a lawful *King* and a *Tyrant*: The words of that elegant Writer are to this effect, That the one acknowledgeth himſelf ordained for his People, having received from God a burthen of Government, whereof he muſt be accountable; the other thinketh his People ordained for him, a prey to his paſſions and inordinate appetites, as the fruits of his magnanimity; and therefore that a good King thinking his higheſt honour to conſiſt in the due diſcharge of his Calling, imployeth all his Study and Pains to procure and maintain, by the making and execution of good Laws, the welfare and peace of his People.

XXIII. For the making of Laws, whereof the force and penalty doth generally reach unto the whole Kingdom, muſt be an Act of the Prince: and therefore where it is ſaid, *Pſal.* 60. 7. *Judah my Law-giver*, the Greek and Vulgar Latine tranſlate it, *Judah is my King*,

agreeable to that in 1 Chron. 5.2. *Of Judah came the Prince.* For * *to this end,* saith *Justinian, God hath setled Regal Power among Men, that by ordering upon all occasions such things as are needful, it should both supply the uncertainty of humane nature, and conclude it within the bounds of certain Laws.* And St. *Augustin* to the same purpose, † *The divine right we have in the Scriptures, the humane right in the Laws of Kings;* || *for humane rights God hath distributed to Mankind by the Emperors and Kings of this World, and this* * *humane right is in the power of the Kings of the earth.* Hitherto belongeth also that of *Alexius Comnenus,* † *The regal Office is nothing else but a legal administration of things: the Law is that which preserveth the indemnity of the Commonwealth, removing far and expelling such things as are prejudicial to the civil State; and the power of making the Laws is committed to the King;*

* Βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς διὰ τοῦτο καθῆκεν εἰς ἀνθρώπους, ὅπως ἂν τοῖς δεομένοις ἀεί τι διατάττουσα τὴν τῆς ἀνθρωπίνης φύσεως ἀοριστίαν ἀναπληροῖ τε καὶ ἢ τοῖς περικλείοι νόμοις τε. Cod. de vet. jur. enucl. l. 3. Græc.

† *Divinum jus in Scripturis habemus, humanum jus in legibus Regum.* August. in Joan. Tract. 6.

|| *Ipsa jura humana per Imperatores & Reges seculi Deus distribuit generi humano* Id. ib.

* *Jus humanum in potestate regum est terræ.* Id. in Epist. 48. ad Vincentium.

† Μηδὲν ἄλλο ἡ βασιλεία ἢ ἔννομος ἐπιστασία ἐστι, νόμοι δὲ οἱ τὴν πολιτείαν τηροῦντες ἀδιαλώβητον, πόῤῥω ἀπωθοῦντες τὰ τὸ πολίτευμα καταβλάπτοντα, ἀνεῖται δὲ καὶ τὸ νομοθετεῖν βασιλεῦσιν. Alex. Commen. Novel. de solutione sponsalium.

King: and that of *Plutarch* long before him, * *Justice is the end of the Law, the Law a work of the Prince, and the Prince the Image of God. The* ἄρχων, or *Prince*, makes the Laws, not to himself, but to his Subjects, (to whom he standeth no way accountable for his own not observing any of them, as hereafter shall more fully be declared) the ᾿Αρχόντες judge and govern others according to the Prescript of those Laws, being themselves also obnoxious to them as well as other Subjects. For † *Magistrates are the Ministers, Judges the Interpreters of the Laws*, saith *Tully*: *and* ‖ *the Laws do govern the Magistrates no less than the Magistrates do the People.* To the Maker of the Law *Dio* (in the place alledged) attributes βασιλείαν, or regal Sovereignty, which by him (and * *Suidas* out of him) is defined to be ἀνυπεύθυνος ἀρχὴ, a Government without check, whereof no account is to be rendred unto any man: to the Ministers of the Law he ascribeth ἀρχὰς simply; by which word likewise the † Scholiast of *Aristophanes*

* Δίκη νόμου τέλος ἐστὶν νόμος δὲ ἄρχοντος ἔργον, ἄρχων δὲ εἰκὼν θεοῦ. Plutarch. ad Principem indoctum.

† *Legum Ministri Magistratus, legum interpretes judices, legum denique idcirco omnes servi sumus, ut liberi esse possumus.* Cicero pro A. Cluentio.

‖ *ut Magistratibus leges, ita populo præsunt Magistratus.* Idem init. l. 3. de legibus.

* Suidas in Βασιλεία.

† Κοινότερον δὲ πᾶς τοιαύτας ψυχὰς ὀνομάζει καὶ λειτουργίας ἀρχὰς ἔλαχον, καὶ τὸ βουλεύσασθαι (i.e. jus dicere.)

ἀρχὰς, Scuol. in Arist. Plut. p. 91. edit. Græcolat. anno 1607.

(and * *Suidas* alſo from him) obſerve the miniſterial and inferiour Government moſt uſually to be underſtood; for † *in every Kingdom there are many* ἀρχαὶ, *but under one King*, ſaith *Epiphanius*. ‖ *The Princes digged the Well, the Nobles of the People digged it by direction of the Law-giver, with their Staves,* was a part of the Song of *Iſrael*: and ∴ *Moſes commanded us a Law, even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob: and he was King in Jeſhurun, when the Heads of the People and the Tribes of Iſrael were gathered together.* Here *Moſes* is the Law-giver and King in *Iſrael*: the *Princes* and *Heads of the People*, thoſe ἄρχοντες and ἀρχαὶ, without which *Ariſtotle* ſo oft tells us it is impoſſible a Commonwealth can conſiſt. For, *One man*, ſaith † *Philo*, *tho he have never ſo much alacrity and vigour in body and mind, cannot be ſufficient to undergo the greatneſs and the multitude of the buſineſſes which every day do flow one upon the neck of another, unleſs they have coadjutors, choſen*

* Suidas in Ἀρχεῖν.

† Καθ' ἑκάστην βασιλείαν πολλαὶ ἀρχαὶ, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἕνα βασιλέα. Epiph. contra Archont. hæreſ. 40.

‖ Num. 21. 18.

∴ Deut. 33. 4, 5.

† Εἰς γὰρ ἂν ἀνὴρ ἐξαρκέσαι, κἂν σφοδρότατος ᾖ καὶ πάντων ἐρρωμενέστατος ἐκ πυρὸς σῶμα καὶ ψυχὴν, πρὸς τὸ μεγέθη καὶ πλήθη τῶν πραγμάτων, ὁπόσα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν ἀλλήλοις ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἀλλαχόθεν ἄλλων, εἰ μὴ τοὺς συλλήπτορας ἕξοι πάντας ἀεισύνδετα ὑπαλλαγμένους φρονήσει, δικαιοσύνῃ, θεοσεβείᾳ τοῦ μόνου ἐμβρίθειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μισεῖν ὡς ἐχθρὸν καὶ μίσιστον κακὸν ἀλαζονείαν βουλοῖτ' ἂν ἀνδρεῖα καὶρῷ καὶ ἀγαθῷ τὰ κοινὰ ἐπιχθισμῷ, συμπεπλεγμένοις καὶ ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι ὑπηκόοις τάξει. Philo in libro de creatione Principis.

choſen all of them out of the beſt, men of known wiſdom, courage, juſtice, piety; and who not only are free from pride, but abhor it likewiſe, as an hateful and exceeding great evil: for ſuch men are moſt fit helpers and aſſiſtants to a good and worthy Prince. For proof whereof he giveth an inſtance in *Moſes* himſelf, who altho he were a man * *mighty in words and in deeds*, and *going in this his might*, (as God † in another place biddeth *Gideon* to do) did for a time judge *Iſrael* all alone; yet meer neceſſity forced him in the end to profeſs unto the People, ‖ *I am not able to bear you my ſelf alone: ∴ How can I my ſelf alone bear your cumbrance, and your burthen, and your ſtrife?* whereupon * *he took the chief of their Tribes, wiſe men and known, and made them heads over the People, and Officers among their Tribes.*

* Acts 7. 22.
† Judges 6. 14
‖ Deut. 1. 9.
∴ Verſe 12.
* Verſe 15. with Exod. 18 25.

XXIV. And yet in his Wiſdom foreſeeing withal that theſe, as many as they were, could not be able to go thorow with the work, nor retain the People in due obedience, without the ſupport of a Supreme Governor, before his departure out of this life he preſenteth God with this Petition, † *Let the Lord, the God of the Spirits of all fleſh, ſet a man over*

† Num. 27. 16, 17.

over the Congregation, which may go out before them, and which may go in before them, and which may lead them out, and which may bring them in; that the Congregation of the Lord be not * *as sheep which have no Shepherd*: and God thereupon giveth order unto him, that he ſhould † *put ſome of his honour upon* Joſhua, *that all the Congregation of the children of* Iſrael *might be obedient:* which honour or regal Sovereignty (for ‖ *Moſes* had no leſs) how fully *Joſhua* did enjoy after his deceaſe, this profeſſion then made by the People may ſufficiently teſtifie; * *All that thou commandeſt us we will do, and whitherſoever thou ſendeſt us we will go. According as we hearkened unto* Moſes, *ſo will we hearken unto thee: only the Lord thy God be with thee, as he was with* Moſes. *Whoſoever he be that doth rebel againſt thy commandment, and will not hearken unto thy words in all that thou commandeſt him, he ſhall be put to death: only be ſtrong and of a good courage.* And this ratification thereof made by God himſelf not long after, † *On that day the Lord magnified* Joſhua *in the ſight of all Iſrael, and they feared him as they feared* Moſes *all the days of his Life.*

* See 1 Kings 22. 17.

† Num. 27. 20.

‖ Gen. 36. 31. with Deut. 33. 5.

* Joſ. 1. 16, 17, 18.

† Joſ. 4. 14.

XXV. The Supreme Governor there-

therefore hath not more need of the ſubordinate Magiſtrate for his aſſiſtance, than they have of him to give them *life* and *motion*: no State being poſſibly able to ſubſiſt, unleſs a Supremacy of Power be placed in ſome Head, from whence it may be derived through all the parts of the Body politick. A lively manifeſtation of this we have from the old * *Perſians*, who for five days together after the deceaſe of their King, permitted the People to live Lawleſs; that after the experience of the ſlaughters, rapines, and other outrages committed in that ſhort interval, they might learn to hold their Kings in more high eſteem. Which bringeth ſome light to that which we meet with ſo oft in the Book of *Judges*, and wherewith the laſt Chapter of that ſacred Hiſtory is concluded, *In thoſe days there was no King in Iſrael, every man did that which was right in his own eyes.* In the ſame Chapter we read that there were then † *the Elders of the Congregation* in the Commonwealth; and in the || Chapter going before, that zealous *Phineas*

* Ἐντεῦθεν καὶ οἱ Πρσῶν χαρίεντες νόμον ἔχουσι, βασιλέως παρ' αὐτοῖς τελευτήσαντος, πέντε τὰς ἐφεξῆς ἡμέρας ἀνομίαν ἄγειν· οὐκ ὑπὲρ τοῦ δυστυχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἔργῳ μαθεῖν ἡλίκον κακόν ἐστιν ἡ ἀνομία (σφαγὰς καὶ ἁρπαγὰς. καὶ εἴ τι χεῖρόν ἐστι ἐπάγουσα) ἵνα πιστότεροι τῶν βασιλέων φύλακες γένωνται. Sext. Emp. adverſ. Mathemat. l. 2. *Vide* & Serinum apud Stobæum Serm. 42.

† Judg. 21.16

|| Judg. 20.28

Phineas ſtood High-prieſt before the Ark in thoſe days. But the want of a King, that is, of one that had the Supreme managing of the Sword of Juſtice, is aſſigned to be the cauſe of all this confuſion and diſorder; who being in the Scripture termed * *the breath of our noſtrils*, (as the great Army of *Alexander* doth profeſs to the ſame effect in *Curtius*, that † *they all did live by that one mans breath*, or *ſpirit*,) we may eaſily thence infer, That as in the natural Body, the breath being ſtopped, life can no longer be continued; ſo the power of the ſupreme Governor being taken away all vital influence into the reſt of the Body Civil muſt ceaſe therewith, and the whole State of neceſſity ſuffer a diſſolution. And therefore as *Florus* writeth of the conſtitution of the Roman Empire uuder *Cæſar Auguſtus*, that ‖ *No doubt it could never have otherwiſe conjoyned and conſented together unleſs it had been governed by the beck of one Ruler, as by a kind of ſoul and mind*: So touching the continuation thereof *Seneca* in like manner addeth

* Lam. 4. 20.

† *Armatus exercitus regiam obſedit, confeſſus omnes unius ſpiritu vivere.* Q. Curtius l. 9. c. 11.

‖ *Ad Octavium Cæſarem Auguſtum ſummarerum rediit: qui ſapientia ſua atque ſolertia perculſum undique & pertubatum ordinavit Imperii corpus. Quod ita haud dubie nunquam coire & conſentire potuiſſet, niſi unius præſidis nutu quaſi anima & mente regeretur.* L. Florus l. 4. c. 3.

addeth * *This infinite multitude which environs one mans ſoul, is by his Spirit governed; and by his reaſon guided; which otherwiſe would oppreſs and break her ſelf with her own force, if by his counſel ſhe were not ſuſtained.* For, † *he is the bond which holds faſt the State together, he is that vital breath which ſo many thouſands draw in; who otherwiſe as a lifeleſs and unwieldy load would prove a booty, if that ſoul of the Empire were taken away.*

* *Hæc immenſa multitudo unius animæ circumdata, illius ſpiritu regitur, illius ratione flectitur; preſſura ſi ac fractura viribus ſuis, niſi conſilio ſuſtineretur.* Seneca de Clementia l. 1. c. 3.

† *Ille eſt enim vinculum, per quod Reſpublica cohæret; ille ſpiritus vitalis quem hæc tot millia trahunt; nihil ipſa per ſe futura niſi onus & præda, ſi mens illa imperii ſubtrahatur.*

--Rege incolumi mens omnibus una eſt;
Amiſſo rupere fidem---

Id. ib. c. 4. Verſus autem Virg. ſunt, l. 4. Georg. de apibus, quorum ſententiam hoc eodem libro c. 19. ita expreſſit idem *Seneca Amiſſo rege totum dilabitur examen.*

The King being ſafe, one mind unites them all;
He gone, their league diſſolveth, and they fall.

XXVI. Where further alſo it is to be conſidered, that the placing of the Supremacy of Civil Power (which the *Latines* call *Majeſty*, the *Græcians* Κύριον πολιτεύμα, κυρίαν ἀρχὴν, & ἄκραν ἐξουσίαν) in ſome certain Head, is ſo eſſential to all States of Government, that from it the formal difference ariſeth of all the par-

particular kinds thereof. For, altho in *Switzerland* (for example) the Cantons have their ſeveral Magiſtrates, who during the time of their Government order all things among the People, yet are they not an Ariſtocracy for all that, but a mere Democracy; becauſe theſe Officers derive their Authority wholly from the People, and to them or their Deputies they are to give an account of the exerciſe thereof. And altho in the Commonwealth of *Venice* there be but one Duke, yet becauſe this perſon is not * inveſted with the Supreme Power of Government, that State is nothing leſs than Monarchical. The *Lacedemonians* had two Kings (for failing) and both of them hereditary, deſcending from the race of *Hercules*, and yet that hindered nothing at all their Ariſtocracy; becauſe they being ſubject to the overſight and controll of the *Ephori*, were but equivocal Kings, ſuch in † name, but not in deed. For, to ſpeak properly,

* *Imperii ſummam vim ipſam nunquam habuit, ſed imaginem tantum quandam & umbram imperii, plus minuſve, pro temporum varitate.* Nic Craſſ. Not. 15. in Donat. Jannot. de rep. Venet.

† As other inferiour Princes likewiſe named, Eſay 10. 8. Jer. 19.3. Pſal. 105. 30. So *Euſtathius* in *Homer.* Odyſſ. α. Σεμνύνεται ὅτι ὁ μόνον Ὅμηρος βασιλεῖς λέγει τοὺς ἐνδόξους καὶ βασιλικούς, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτόν. Et *Proclus* in *Heſiod.* Ἔργων α. Βασιλῆας τοὺς διηγεκεῖς καὶ τοὺς ἀρχικοὺς λέγων· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλουν οἱ παλαιοί.

perly, by the name of a *King* (as *Gregory Nyssen* noteth) we understand such an one as is * *his own Master, and hath no other Master beside*; who hath † *absolute power in himself*, and is no way subject to the control of any other. And therefore when *Anthony* was so much pressed by his *Cleopatra* to call *Herod* unto question, he answered, || *It was not fitting a King should give account of what he did in his Government, for he should be in effect no King at all.*

* Αὐτοκράτορα καὶ ἀδέσποτον τὴν βασιλέα καλοῦμεν. Greg. Nyssen. contra Eunom. l. 1.

† Τὸ αὐτοκρατές τε καὶ ἄναρχον. Ibid.

|| Οὐ γὰρ ἔφη καλῶς ἔχειν Ἀντώνιος, βασιλέα περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν γεγενημένων εὐθύνας ἀπαιτεῖν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν οὐδὲ βασιλεὺς εἶναι Jos. Antiq. l. 15. c. 14.

XXVII. On the other side, in our High Court of Parliament, although the Knights, Citizens and Burgesses (representing the whole Body of the Commons) bear the shew of a little Democracy among us, and the Lords and Nobles (as the *Optimates* of the Kingdom) of an Aristocracy; yet our Government is a free Monarchy notwithstanding: because the Supreme Authority resteth neither in the one nor in the other, (either severally or joyntly) but solely in the person of the King, at whose * pleasure they are assembled, and

* *Quis tantæ est authoritatis ut nolentem principem possit ad convocandos patres cæterosque proceres coarctare?* Justinian. Nov. 23.

and without whose Royal assent nothing they conclude on can be a Law forcible to bind the Subjects. Whereupon by a special Act of the same great Court it is declared, * that the King's Highness must be acknowledged to be the *ONLY SUPREME GOVERNOR* of his Dominion in all Causes whatsoever. Which could not stand, if that either Court it self, or any other Power upon Earth, might in any Cause over-rule him: I say any Power, whether *Foreign* or *Domestical.*

* Statut. Angl. an. 1. *Eliz.* (& Hibern. an. 2. ejusdem) c. 1.

XXVIII. This Government is called πάντελὴς μοναρχία, *a full Monarchy*, by *Sophocles*; αὐταρχία, *a free and independent regiment*, by *Marcus Aurelius* in ‖ *Dio* αὐτοκρατὴς βασιλεία καὶ ἀνυπεύθυνος, *an absolute Kingdom, not subject to the controll of any*, by *Plutarch* in that little Book wherein he compareth the three kinds of Governments (*Monarchical*, *Democratical*, and *Oligarchical* or *Aristocratical*) together, and in the end (out of *Plato*) preferreth a *Monarchy* before the rest for this very reason, because * *the others being ruled do yet after a sort rule, and being led do lead the Civil*

† Sophocles in Antigona. vers 1177.

‖ Xiphilin. Excerpt. ex Dionis Marc. Aurelio.

* Αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλαι πολιτεῖαι τρόπον τινὰ κρατούμεναι κρατοῦσι, καὶ φερόμεναι φέρουσι τὴν πολιτικὸν οὐκ ἔχοντα τὴν ἰὼν βέβαιον ἐπὶ τούτου τούτων) παρ' ᾧ ἔχει τὸ ἰσχύον, ἀλλὰ πολλάκις ἀναγκαζόμενον τὸ Αἰσχύλειον ἀναφωνεῖν, &c. Plutarch.

Go-

Governor ſet over them; who *having no ſolid and firm ſtrength herein from thoſe who gave him his power*, is ſubject to be ſuppreſſed by the ſame hand that raiſed him. Whereas a free *Monarch*, who hath the ſupremacy of Power placed in his own perſon, and by virtue thereof maketh ſuch Laws, and impart-eth to the ſubordinate Magiſtrates ſuch authority for the ſeeing of them put in execution, as may beſt conduce to the benefit of the whole State, doth there-by in a moſt ſpecial manner repreſent unto us (as we have before heard out of the ſame Author) the image of God, the moſt high and abſolute * *Monarch* of this whole Univerſe. To this purpoſe *Cyril* Biſhop of *Alexandria* maketh that † *high eminency of glory* annexed unto the Imperial State to be *an image* upon earth of the ſupreme Majeſty of Almighty God in Heaven. And you (ſaith he to the Emperors) || *you alone who have obtained power over*

* Vide Philonem Jud. initio lib. 1. de Monarchia.

† Τῆς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑψηλείας τὸ ἀνώτατον, καὶ ἀσυγκρίτοις διαφορᾶις τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἀνεξικάκως τε καὶ ἐπιεικείᾳ τὸν ὑμεῖς (ὦ φιλόχριστοι βασιλεῖς) καὶ κλῆρῳ θεῖον ὑμῶν ἐξαιρέτως τε καὶ πρέπων ἔδωκε θεὸς ἡ ὑπόστασις αὐτῷ καὶ πίστιν ὑφ' ὑμῶν εἰκὼς γὰρ ὅπῃ γῆς τὸ μέγεθος, &c. ἴσθι δ' ἂν τις καὶ ὅπῃ τὴν ὑμετέραν χαλιωότητα, τὸ ὅτῳ θεοφανῶς καὶ ἀνωτάτῳ πασῶν ὑψηλείας, διαπρέπον-τα καὶ ἐναργῆ τὸ τύπον ὑμεῖς γάρ ἐστε καὶ τοῦ εἰς λέξιν ἀξιωμάτων πηγαὶ, καὶ ἀπάσης ὑπεροχῆς ἐπέκεινα. Cyril. initio. libri. de recta fide ad Theod.

|| Τῆς ἐν ἀρχαῖς βασιλείας ἐντύπωμα ὥστε ὅσον τι καὶ μίμημα τοῖς ὅπῃ γῆς ὑμᾶς ἔχειν καὶ μόνοις τὸ καθ' πάντων λαχόντες κράτος. Id. in Apol. ad eundem.

all men, are as it were a kind of expreſſion and imitation of that Kingdom which is in Heaven. Whereunto may be added that of the Author of the Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament (in the 4. Tome of St. *Auguſtines* Works) * *The King hath the image of God*; and the Author of the Commentaries upon the Epiſtles of St. *Paul*, who (not without great probability) is thought to be the ſame, howſoever bearing the name of St. *Ambroſe*, † *Kings are created for the correcting of our life, and the keeping back of adverſities; in this having the image of God, that all the reſt ſhould be under one.* And of *Joh. Sarisburienſis*, ‖ *The Prince as ſundry do define him, is a publick Power, and kind of an image of the divine Majeſty upon earth.* To which definition, or deſcription rather, we may refer that of *Menander*,

* Quæſt. 25. ex vet. & nov. Teſt.

† *Principes hos reges dicit, qui propter corrigendam vitam & prohibenda adverſa creantur; Dei habentes imaginem, ut ſub uno ſint cæteri.* Ambr. in Rom. 13.

‖ *Eſt ergo, ut tum plerique definiunt, princeps poteſtas publica, & in terris quædam divinæ majeſtatis imago.* Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 1.

∴ Εἰκὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔμψυχος Θεοῦ.

The King is a living image of God.

5. In Monoſtichis ab H. Stephano edit. an. 1569.

And that of *Diotogenes* the Pythagorean,

rean, that * *The King having a Power uncontrollable, and being himself a living Law, is the figure of God among men.* And those admonitions of *Agapetus* unto the Emperor *Justinian*, † *Seeing thou hast attained to a dignity higher than all other honour, do thou also above all others honour God, who was pleased so to dignifie thee, according to the similitude of his heavenly Kingdom, giving unto thee the Scepter of this earthly Principality.* For although * *the King, in regard of the nature of his body be of the same mould with every other man, yet in respect of the eminency of his dignity he is like unto God, who is Lord over all;* † *whose image he beareth, and by him holdeth that Power which he hath over all men.*

* Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀρχὰν ἔχων ἀνυπεύθυνον, καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν νόμος ἔμψυχος, Θεὸς ἐν ἀθρώποις παρεχαμάτισται. Diotog. apud Scobæum Serm. 45.

† Τιμῆς ἁπάσης ὑπέρτερον ἔχων ἀξίωμα, βασιλεῦ, νῆμα ὑπὲρ ἅπαντας τὸν τούτου σε ἀξιώσαντα θεόν· ὅτι καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν τῆς ἐπουρανίου βασιλείας ἤδωκέ σοι τὸ σκῆπτρον τῆς ἐπιγείου δυναστείας. Agap. Par. c. 1.

* Τῇ μὲν οὐσίᾳ τοῦ σώματος ἴσος παντὶ ἀνθρώπῳ ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ δὲ τοῦ ἀξιώματος ὅμοιος ἐστι τῷ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεῷ. Ibid. c. 21.

† Τὴν εἰκόνα φέρει τοῦ ἐπὶ πάντων Θεοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ κατ' ἔχει τὴν ἐπὶ πάντων ἀρχήν. Ibid. cap. 37.

XXIX. If we consider God in his own sublime Majesty, the Scripture will tell us that * *his Throne is in Heaven*; but if we look upon him in these his Vicegerents, which do so immediately

* Psal. 11. 4. & 103. 16.

repreſent his perſon among the Sons of men, in the ſame Scripture we may find out another Throne of his, prepared here on this *earth*, which is his * *foot-ſtool*. Thus, where in the Hiſtory of the Kings we read that † *Solomon ſate upon the Throne of David his Father, and his Kingdom was eſtabliſhed greatly*: In the Chronicles we have it thus expreſſed, ‖ *Then Solomon ſate on the Throne of the Lord as King, inſtead of David his Father, and proſpered, and all Iſrael obeyed him.* And, where in the former the Queen of *Sheba* is brought in ſpeaking unto the ſame King after this manner, ·.· *Bleſſed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to ſet thee on the Throne of Iſrael*: In the later her Speech is thus related; * *Bleſſed be the Lord thy God, which delighteth in thee to ſet thee on HIS Throne, to be King for the LORD thy God.* And the Kings Throne is accounted Gods Throne, ſo the Kings themſelves alſo are ſtiled his Kings and his Anointed; † *He ſhall give ſtrength unto HIS King, and exalt the Horn of HIS Anointed*, ſaith *Hannah* in her Song: And *David* likewiſe in his, ‖ *Great deliverance giveth he to HIS King, and ſheweth mercy to HIS Anointed.*

* Eſay 66. 1. Mat. 5. 5.

† 1 King. 2. 12.

‖ 1 Chron. 29. 23.

·.· 1 King. 10. 9

* 2 Chron. 9. 8.

† Pſal. 18. 50. 2 Sam. 22. 51

XXX. Where

XXX. Where further alſo it deſerveth ſpecial conſideration, that this ſacred title of *the Lords Anointed* is not only attributed to * *David* and † *Joſiah*, and ſuch good Kings as God in his mercy did raiſe up unto his People; but to || *Saul* alſo, a King whom ∴ he gave unto them in his anger: nor to thoſe who were of the Commonwealth of *Iſrael* alone, but to *Cyrus* an Heathen Emperor, of whom it is written, † *Thus ſaith the Lord to his Anointed, to Cyrus, whoſe right hand I have holden to ſubdue Nations before him*: who altho at firſt he did not know his Founder, yet at laſt by publick Proclamation he made this large acknowledgment of him, * *Thus ſaith Cyrus King of Perſia, all the Kingdoms of the earth hath the Lord God of heaven given me, and he hath charged me to build him an houſe in Jeruſalem.* Yea, he that gave the Empire to *Cyrus* that ſhould † *build his City, and let go his Captives*, gave the ſame unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, who had before deſtroyed the ſame City, and led the People into Captivity; whereof the Prophet *Daniel* did thus put him in mind; || *Thou, O King, art a King of Kings, for the God of heaven hath given thee a Kingdom,*

* 2 Sam. 12. 7. & 16. 21. & 23. 1.
† Lam. 4. 20.
|| 1 Sam. 12. 3, 5. & 24. 6, 10. & 26. 9, 11. 16, 23 cum 2 Sam. 1. 14, 16.
∴ 1 Sam. 8. 7.
† Eſay 45. 1.
* 1 Chr. 36. 23. Ezra 1. 2.
† Eſay 45. 13.
|| Dan. 2. 37.

Power and Strength and Glory: and afterwards his Grandchild in these words,

‡ Dan. 5. 18, 19 * *The most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy Father a Kingdom, and Majesty, and Glory and Honour; and for the Majesty that he gave him, all People, Nations and Languages trembled and feared before him: whom he would he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, and whom he would he set up, and whom he would he put down.* And he that gave *Cyrus* the title of his *Anointed*, gave to this *Nebuchadnezzar* also the style of his † *Servant*; the same wherewith those choicest Governors, || *Moses* ∴ *Joshua*, and * *David*, were graced by him.

† Jer. 25. 9. & 27 6. & 43. 10.
|| Num. 12. 7, 8. Psal. 105. 26. ∴ Jos. 24. 29.
* Psal. 18. 1. & 58. 70.

XXXI. That Kings derive their Power, and hold their Crown from God, is a truth which even Heathen Writers do acknowledge no less than Christian, † ἐκ δ' Διὸς βασιλῆες----was the saying of old *Hesiod*; whereby he makes God their *procreant* cause, as elsewhere their *conservant*, by giving them the title of || Διοτρεφεῖς, (and what the Poets ascribe to *Jove* the Apostle gives to ∴ *God*, we know,) The former is more largely expressed thus by * *Callimachus*, (whose Verses together with all the followings, are of the translation of my

† *Kings are from Jove.* Hesiod. Theog. vers. 96.
|| *Nourished by Jove.* Ib. Vers. 82.
∴ Acts 17. 24, 28.
* Callimach. hymn. in Jovem.

my Ingenious and Learned Friend Mr. *J. P.*)

Ἐκ δὲ Διὸς Βασιλῆες· ἐπεὶ Διὸς οὐδὲν ἀνάκτων
Θειότερον, ᾧ ἐ σφι τεὼν ἐκρίναο τάξιν.

Kings are from Jove, none so divine as they
Whom he calls his, and in his place bids sway.

The later is set down by *Homer* in this manner.

* Θυμὸς δὲ μέγας ἐστὶ διοτρεφέος βασιλῆος.
Τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διός ἐστι, φιλεῖ δὲ ἑ μητιέτα Ζεῦς.

* Iliad. β. ver. 196, 197.

The anger of a King is great;
Him Jove himself doth nourish:
From him his honour springs,
And by his love doth flourish.

Where note with *Eustathius*, that Kings are called διγενεῖς & διοτρεφεῖς † not as deriving their pedigree from *Jove*, but their Kingly honour. And this is

† Οὐκ ὅτι ἐν Διὸς τὸ γένος ἔλκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμὴ, ἡ τῆς βασιλείας δηλαδή. Eustath. p. 199. ed. Rom.

delivered alſo by the ſame Poet, under the perſon of ſage *Neſtor* reproving *Achilles* for contending with King *Agamemnon*.

* Iliad. α ver. 277, &c.

* Μήτε Σὺ Πηλείδ' ἤθελ' ἐριζέμεναι βασιλῆι
Ἀντίβιην· ἐπεὶ οὔποθ' ὁμοίης ἔμμορε τιμῆς
Σκηπτοῦχος βασιλεὺς, ᾧ τε Ζεὺς κῦδος ἔδωκε.

Pelidas ſtrive not with the King,
His honour is a different thing
From thine: his Power is from above,
His Scepter is the gift of Jove.

And directing his Speech to *Agamemnon* himſelf,

† Iliad. θ. verſ. 97, &c. cum Iliad. β. verſ. 205.206.

† Λαῶν ἐσσὶ, ἄναξ, καὶ τοὶ Ζεὺς ἐγγυάλιζε
Σκῆπτρον τ' ἠδὲ θέμιστας, ἕνα σφίσι βουλεύησθα.

Thou ruleſt many Nations, Jove a Scepter did thee lend,
And Laws, that to thy Peoples good thou might'ſt attend.

Whence *Euſtathius* alſo inferreth, that

* *the*

* *the Kingly Office is a good gift of God, and that* † *the King hath both the Scepter and his Juriſdiction from God.*

* Θεόσδοτον ἀγαθὸν ἡ βασιλεία. Euſtath. in Iliad. 2. p. 202, 203. edit. Rom. † Ὁ ἄναξ καὶ σκῆπτρον Θεόθεν ἔχει καὶ θέμιστας. Idem in Iliad. 9. p. 738.

And with *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, doth *Plato* likewiſe, the Prince of Philoſophers, acknowledge* *the Regal Office to be a divine good among men*; and makes his † *King as it were a God among men. Diotogenes* the Pythagorean ſaith, that ‖ *God hath given him dominion.* **Dio Chryſoſtom* toucheth often the ſame thing. *Pliny* telleth the Emperor *Trajan*, that God † *gave him to be his Subſtitute toward all Mankind.* And *Themiſtius* affirmeth, that ‖ *God from Heaven did ſend regal power unto the earth.* Our Chriſtians alſo that lived under the firſt Perſecutions, tho they had occaſion enough thereby given them to decline the govern-

* Πλάτων βασιλείαν θεῖον ἀγαθὸν ἐν ἀνθρώποις καλεῖ, Syneſ. in orat. de Regno.

† Οἷον θεὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. Plato in Politico.

‖ Δέδωκεν ὁ Θεὸς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγαμωσύναν. Diotog. apud Stobæum Serm. 46.

* Τῶν βασιλέων ἔχοντων ἀπὸ Διὸς ἐξουσίαν καὶ ἐπιτροπὴν καὶ ἀρχὴν. Dio orat. 1. de regno. Ὅταν ἀνθρώπους ὠφελῇ, τότε νομίζει τὸ θεοειδὲς ἐπισχεῖν. ἅτε ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου Θεοῦ ταχθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἔργον. Id. orat. 3 de regno ad Trajanum. ᾧ μόνῳ τὸ περιφανὲς ἔνειμεν ὁ Θεός, Id. ibid.

†*Te dedit, qui erga omne hominum genus vice ſua fungereris.* Plin. Paneg. ad Traj.

‖ Βασιλείαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέπεμψεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεός. Themiſt. orat. 5. de Imp. Theodoſii humanitate. Vide & orat. 22. ad Jovinianum Imp. ubi etiam regia illa epitheta, ἀοίδιμῳ καὶ ἀοιδίμῳ, ex Homero repetit.

ment

ment of those Times and Emperours, did yet both acknowledge and reverence Gods Ordinance in the advancement of them. And therefore when *Celsus* the Epicurean Philosopher had cited the place of *Homer*.

* Homer Il. β. vers. 204.205.

* εἰς κοίρανος ἔστω,
Εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε κελεύνεφες παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω.

and inferred thence against the Christian, † *If thou wilt not admit this Document, the King may justly punish thee: Origen* admitteth it, so that instead of the fabulous *son of Saturn*, the true God be nominated, ‖ *who setteth up Kings and removeth them, and in his own time raiseth upon the earth such an one as is useful to the State.* For, *it is not*, saith he, *the son of Saturn* (*who expelled his Father from his Government, and cast him into Hell, as the Fables of the Grecians report*) *that setteth up Kings*; *but it is the God who governeth all things, that knoweth when and in what place*

† Ὡς ἂν τοῦτο λύσῃς τὸ δόγμα, εἰκότως ἀμυνεῖται σε ὁ βασιλεύς. Celsus apud Origenem.

‖ Ἀλλ' ὁ ἐδώκεν ὁ καθιστῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθιστῶν, καὶ ἐπ' ἀρχήσιμον καιρὸν ἐγείρων ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ οὐχ ὁ καταταρταρωθεὶς (ὡς οἱ μῦθοι Ἑλλήνων λέγουσι) Κρόνου υἱὸς ἀπελάσας τοῦτον τῆς ἀρχῆς, καθίστησι βασιλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὁ διοικῶν τὰ σύμπαντα Θεὸς, οἶδεν ὁ τε ποτὲ ποιεῖ καὶ ἐπὶ τόπου τὴν τῶν βασιλέων καταστάσεως. Orig. l. 8. contra Celsum.

place to appoint the erection of Kings: And so concludeth, that* *the King could not justly punish them for saying that it is not the son of crafty Saturn that gave him power to reign, but he who is the remover and setter up of Kings*: and wisheth that *all would do the like, rejecting the Homerical, and embracing the divine doctrine touching the constitution of a Kingdom, and observing the precept wich requireth them to honour the King.* To this purpose also *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch* thus declares himself, † *I will honour the King, not adoring him, but praying for him: Him that is God indeed, even the true God, I adore; knowing that by him the King is ordained.* And again || *He is not himself God, but a man appointed by God; not to be worshipped, but to judge righteously; being after a sort entrusted by God with this administration. Athenagoras,* (addressing his speech joyntly to *Aurelius* and his Son *Commodus*)

* Ἀλλ' οὐδ' εἰκότως ἡμᾶς ἀμύνεται βασιλεὺς, φάσκοντας μὴ ὅτι οὐ κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτεω ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ βασιλεύειν, ὁ δὲ μθισῶν βασιλεῖς καὶ καθιστῶν. Καὶ τὸ αὐτόγε ποιήσωσάν μοι ἅπαντες, τὸ μὴ Ὁμηρικὸν ἐκταλύοντες δόγμα, τὸ δὲ θεῖον περὶ βασιλείας τηρούντες, καὶ τὸ τῆς βασιλέα τιμᾶν φυλάττοντες. Id. ibid.

† Τοιγαροῦν μᾶλλον τιμήσω τὸν βασιλέα, οὐ προσκυνῶν αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ· θεῷ δὲ τῷ ὄντως θεῷ καὶ ἀληθεῖ προσκυνῶ, εἰδὼς ὅτι ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γέγονεν. Theoph. ad Autolycum l. 1.

|| Θεὸς γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένος, οὐκ εἰς τὸ προσκυνεῖσθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν· τρόπῳ γὰρ τινι παρὰ θεοῦ οἰκονομίαν πεπίστευται, Ibid.

* To

To you the power of all things is committed, ye have received the Kingdom from above. And *Dionysius of Alexandria* † *We Worship and Adore that one God and maker of all things, who hath committed the Kingdom to our sacred Emperours,* Valerianus *and* Galienus. *Irenæus*, having proved this point at large by testimony of Scripture, concludes his discourse elegantly with these words, || *By whose command they are born men, by his command likewise they are Ordained Kings.* And so *Tertullian* after him, ∴ *Thence is the Emperor from whence he was a man before he became Emperor: thence hath he his authority from whence he hath his breath.* And again, * *what should I speak more of the religious and observant respect of Christians towards the Emperor? whom of necessity we must reverence as one that our Lord hath chosen; so as we may truly say, Cæsar is rather ours* than yours, *as being ordained by*

* Ὑμῖν πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ πάντα κεχείρωται, ἄνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφόσι. Athenag. legat. pro Christian.

† Ἡμεῖς τὴν ἕνα θεὸν καὶ δημιουργὸν τῶν ἁπάντων τὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐγχειρίσαντα φιλοθεοστάτοις Οὐαλεριανῷ καὶ Γαλιήνῳ σεβαστοῖς, τοῦτον καὶ σέβομεν καὶ προσκυνοῦμεν. Dion. adv. Germanum, apud Euseb. l. 7. Hist. Eccl. c. 11.

|| *Cujus jussu homines nascuntur, hujus jussu & reges constituuntur.* Iren. l. 5. c. 24.

∴ *Inde est Imperator unde & homo antequam Imperator; inde potestas illi unde & spiritus.* Tertul. Apolog. c. 30.

* *Sed quid ego amplius de religione atque pietate Christianâ in Imperatorem? quem necesse est suspiciamus, ut eum quem Dominus noster elegit: ut merito dixerim, noster est magis Cæsar, & à nostro Deo constitutus.* Ibid. c. 33.

by our God. And in another place, * *A Christian is enemy to no man, much less to the Emperour, whom knowing to be appointed by his God, he must of necessity love, reverence and wish safe.* Which safety and health of the Prince he sheweth to have been so highly esteemed by the Christians (even when thus they suffered Persecution from them) that they used to make mention of it in their Oaths; † *We swear, saith he, not by the Genii of the Cæsars* (which are no other than Devils) *but by their Health, which to us is exceedingly more venerable than those delusions. We reverence in our Emperors Gods judgment, that hath made them Governors over the Nations: For that we know to be in them which God would have to be, and therefore would have that to be safe which God appointed; and make account of that as a great Oath.*

* *Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris; quem sciens à Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut & ipsum diligat, & reveretur, & salvum velit.* Id. ad Scapul. c. 2.

† *Sed & juramus, sicut non per genios Cæsarem, ita per salutem eorum, quæ est augustior omnibus geniis. Nescitis genios dæmonias dici, & inde dæmona? Nos judicium Dei suspicimus in Imperatoribus, qui gentibus illos præfecit. Id enim in eis scimus esse, quod Deus voluit; idoque & salvum ipsum volumus esse quod Deus voluit; & pro magno id juramento habemus,* Id. in apol. c. 32.

And so under the Christian Emperors, as *Vegetius* tells us, the Oath administred unto the Roman Souldiers was,

was, * *By God, and Christ, and the Holy Ghost, and by the Majesty of the Emperor; which, next after God, was by mankind to be lov'd and honour'd:* whereof he gives this reason, † *To the Emperor, when he hath received the name of Augustus, faithful devotion is to be exhibited, and all vigilant service to be performed, as unto a present and* || *corporeal God. For a man, whether private or military, doth serve God, when he faithfully loves him who reigns by the Authority of God.* Which reason, whether it hath force sufficient to introduce the Emperours either *Health* or *Majesty* into the form of a solemn Oath, I will not at this time debate: but for the thing it self, that God hath constituted Princes over Nations, and that they reign by his Authority, is a matter as generally acknowledged in the times of the Christian, as before it was in the days of the Heathen Emperors.

The first Christian Emperor *Constantine* used this speech sometime unto his Bishops,

* *Per Deum, & per Christum, & per Spiritum sanctum, & per Majestatem Imperatoris, quæ, secundum Deum generi humano diligenda est & colenda.* Fl. Veget. de re militari l. 2. c. 5.

† *Nam Imperatori, cum Augusti nomen accepit, tanquam presenti & corporali Deo fidelis est præstanda devotio, & impendendus pervigil famulatus. Deo enim vel privatus vel militans servit, cum fideliter eum diligit qui Deo regnat authore.* Ibid.

|| Athanaricus Gothus apud Jornand. de rebus Geticis, c. 28. *Deus sine dubio terrenus est Imperator; & quisquis adversus eum manum moverit, ipse sui sanguinis reus existit.*

Bishops, * *You are the Bishops of those things which are done within the Church; but I am appointed by God to be the Bishop of those things that are done without the Church:* meaning that the over-sight of the external Government of things belonging to the Church, was by God committed unto him, as well as the administration of the holy things of God within the Church was unto them. And of this he gave good proof in the Mandate which he directed to the Bishops Assembled in the Council of *Tyre*, for the discussing of the cause of *Athanasius*, † *that all of them should immediately repair unto his Court, to shew by their acts how purely and incorruptly they had judged;* || *and that before me,* saith he, *whom you may not deny to be Gods true Minister.* Which title he elsewhere also assumes unto himself, as unto one ∴ *whose Ministry God had found out and judged to be fit for the accomplishment of his good pleasure.* And although his Son *Constantius*

* Ὑμεῖς μὲν τῶν εἴσω ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ καθιστάμενος, ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην. Euseb. de vita Constantini. l. 4.

† Ἵνα πάντες ὅσοι τὴν σύνοδον τὴν ἐν Τύρῳ γενομένην πληρώσατε, ἀνυπερθέτως εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τῆς ἡμετέρας εὐσεβείας, (οἱ ἐμῆς ἡμερότητος) ἐπειχθῆτε, τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιδείξαντες τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας κρίσεως καθαρὸν τῆς καὶ ἀδιάστροφον, ὑπ' ἐμοῦ δηλαδὴ, ὃν τοῦ Θεοῦ γνήσιον εἶναι θεράποντα οὐδ' ἂν ὑμεῖς ἀρνηθείητε. Const. ep. ad Synod. Tyri apud Athan. in apol. 2. & Soc. l. 1. hist. eccl. c. 34.

|| Παραχρῆμα τῆς ἰδίας τόλμης διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεράποντος τοῦ Θεοῦ τουτέστιν ἐμοῦ, ἐνεργείας ἀνασταλήσεται. Id. in ep. ad Nicomed. apud Theod. l. 1. hist. eccl. c. 19. ∴ Τὴν ἐμὴν ὑπηρεσίαν πρὸς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ μήλησιν ἐπιτηδείαν ἐζήτησε τῆς καὶ ἔκρινεν. Id. in ed. ad Palest. Provinc. apud Euseb. l. 2. de vita Const.

did

did labour with might and main to introduce the *Arrian* Heresie into the Church of God, yet did *Hosius* Bishop of *Corduba* for all that freely profess, that God * *had committed the Kingdom to him*, and therefore † *whosoever did detract from his Empire, did contradict God that constituted it.* And four other Bishops (*Paulinus* of *Trier*, *Lucifer* of *Calaris*, *Eusebius* of *Verselli*, and *Dionysius* of *Millain*) upon the same ground made bold to tell him, || *That the Kingdom was not his, but Gods who gave it unto him; whom they advised him therefore to fear, lest he should suddenly take the same again from him.* And *Athanasius* being persecuted by him, prayed, ∴ *O Lord Almighty, King of the World, Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, thou by thy word hast given to thy servant Constantius this Kingdom; do thou so enlighten his mind, that he may perceive how I am calumniated, and so receive graciously my Apology:* attributing hereby

* Σοὶ βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς ἐνεχείρισεν· Hosius apud Athanas. in epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

† Ὁ τὴν σὴν ἀρχὴν ὑποκλέπτων ἀντιλέγει τῷ διαταξαμένῳ θεῷ. Id. Ibip.

|| Μὴ εἶναι τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ τοῦ δεδωκότος θεοῦ, ὃν καὶ φοβεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ἠξίουν, μὴ ἐξαίφνης αὐτὴν ἀφέλῃ.

∴ Δέσποτα παντοκράτορ, βασιλεῦ τῶν αἰώνων, ὁ πατὴρ τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, σὺ διὰ τοῦ σοῦ λόγου τὴν βασιλείαν ταύτην τῷ θεράποντι Κωνσταντίῳ δέδωκας σύ λάμψον εἰς τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ. ἵνα γνοὺς τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν συκοφαντίαν, εὐμενῶς αὐτὸς δέξῃ τὴν ἀπολογίαν. Athanas. in apol. ad Constantium.

by to *Conſtantius*, the grand Patron of the *Arrians*, the ſame Power which *Julius Firmicus* did to him and his Brother *Conſtans*, * *The high God hath committed unto you the Empire.* And Pope *Leo* the Great giveth it to the Emperours † *Theodoſius*, *Marcianus* and *Leo*; Pope || *Hormiſda* to the Emperor *Juſtinus*; and *Gregory* the Great to *Mauricius*; unto whom when he had written in general terms, that ∴ *power was given unto him over all Men*, he declareth it more eſpecially in his Letter unto his Phyſician *Theodorus*, that God had * *granted him dominion not only over Souldiers, but alſo over Prieſts*: as Pope *Gelaſius* had written before him to the Emperour *Anaſtaſius*, † *The Biſhops obey thy Laws, knowing the Empire to be conferred upon thee by order from above.*

|| *The Lord*, ſaith S. *Baſil* ſetteth up *Kings, and removeth them, and there is no power but what is ordained by God.* And

* *Ad hoc vobis Deus ſummus commiſit imperium, ut per vos vulneris iſtius plaga curetur.* Jul. Firmicus Matern. de errore profan. relig. c. 17.

† *Unde per ipſum Dominum noſtrum Jeſum Chriſtum, qui regni veſtri eſt author & rector, obteſtor & obſecro clementiam veſtram.* Leo epiſt. 38. ad Marcian. Imp.

|| *A Deo electi, ſicut & credimus.* Hormiſd. epiſt. 27. ad Juſtin.

∴ *Poteſtas Dominorum meorum pietate cœlitus data eſt ſuper omnes homines.* Greg. l. Regiſtr. l. 2. epiſt. 62. ad Mauricium.

* *Dominari eum non ſolum militibus, ſed etiam ſacerdotibus conceſſit.* Ibid. epiſt. 65. ad Theodorum.

† *Cognoſcentes imperium tibi ſuperna diſpoſitione collatum, legibus tuis ipſi quoque parent religionis antiſtites.* Gelaſ. ep. 8. ad Anaſtaſ.

|| Κύριος καθίστησι βασιλεῖς καὶ μεθίστησι καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένη. Baſil. in Pſal. 32.

St. *Auguſtine*, * *Let us not attribute unto any other the power of giving Kingdoms and Empires, but to the true God.* And *Petrus Chryſologus* Archbiſhop *of Ravenna*, † *If all power be from God, then hath the King received the dignity of his Regal Office from God.* And the Apoſtle purpoſely declareth, *that* || *the powers that be are ordained of God*, to the end no man might think that theſe are to be ſlighted as humane devices. For they ſee that a divine right is attributed to humane authorities, ſaid the Author of the Commentaries upon St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, aſcribed to St. *Ambroſe*. Hereupon *Cyril* Patriarch of *Alexandria* putteth *Theodoſius* the younger in mind that * *the lot of that high dignity*, whereunto he was advanced, fell unto him *from God*: and that * *the unmoveable prop of his Empire was our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, by whom Kings do reign, as it is written; yea,* † *to whom alone it belongeth to ſay, By me Kings reign*; as he writeth unto the ſame Emperor, in the

* *Non tribuamus dandi regni atque imperii poteſtatem niſi à Deo vero.* Aug. de civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 21.

† *Si à Deo poteſtas omnis, à Deo rex etiam diſpenſationis Regiæ adeptus eſt dignitatem.* Chryſol. Serm. 26.

Rom. 13.1.

* Κλῆρος ὑμῖν ἐξαιρετός τε καὶ πρέπων παρὰ Θεοῦ. Cyril. Init. l. 1. de fide ad Theod.

† Ἔρεισμα δὲ τὸ ἀκράδαντον τῆς οὕτω θεοφιλοῦς καὶ εὐαγεστάτης ὑμῶν βασιλείας, αὐτὸς ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι, καὶ οἱ δυνάσται γράφοισι δικαιοσύνην, κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον Ibid.

|| Ὥσπερ ἂν πρέπει καὶ μόνῳ τῷ χρῆναι λέγειν, δι' ἐμοῦ βασιλεῖς βασιλεύουσι. Id. in præfat. lib. adv. Julian.

the Preface before his Books against the Apostate *Julian*, who * *knew not that Christ was the giver of the Kingdom and power of Ruling*. So likewise in the Acts of the Council of *Chalcedon*, not only the Monks, which held with *Discorus*, conclude their Petition unto the Emperor *Marcian* with an acknowledgment that Christ,† *of his own good pleasure did in an invisible manner bestow the Empire upon him*: but also the Bishop and Clergy of *Nicomedia* begin their Letters unto him and *Valentinian* in a like stile; ‖ *God hath justly granted unto you to reign and rule over all, for the welfare of the World, and the peace of the holy Churches*: the six *Armenian* Bishops theirs unto the Emperor *Leo* thus; ∴ *God who glorifieth them that glorifie him, hath graciously given unto you, Christian Prince, power over all men without any prohibition*: and *Athalaric* King of the *Goths* his unto the Clergy of

* Ἀγνοήσας τὴν τῆς βασιλείας καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι κρατεῖν δοτῆρα Χριστόν. Id. ib.

† Τῷ καὶ ἀοράτως τῇ ἰδίᾳ εὐδοκίᾳ χαρισαμένῳ ὑμῖν τὸ βασίλειον. Archimandritar ep. ad Marcian. in Conc. Chalcedon. Act. 4 tom. 2. Concil. part. 1. p. 237. edit. Colon. an. 1618.

‖ Θεὸς τὸ βασιλεύειν ὑμῖν καὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ὅλων ἐπὶ σωτηρίᾳ τῆς οἰκουμένης καὶ εἰρήνῃ τῶν ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν, δικαίως δεδώρηται. Eunom. Nicomed. episc. epist. ad Imp. in Conc. Chalcedon. Act. 13. p. 308.

∴ *Deus qui glorificantes se glorificat, secundum cor suum apicem vestræ tranquillitatis inveniens inexpugnabilem, palmam & honorem Fidei consistentem, placidus præbuit vobis (Christianissime Principum) super omnes homines sine prohibitione aliqua potestatem. Insurgentes enim inopinabiliter subdidit victoriis atque incomparabilibus triumphis & vestram pietatem excellentissimis honoribus exornavit, immutilata & sine litigio, & ab aliis indivisa præbens sceptra vestri imperii.* Conc. Chalc. part 3. p. 395.

the Church of *Rome* in this manner; * *We owe so much the more to the Deity, by how much we have received greater things than other Men: For what correspondent thing can he repay to God, who by his gift enjoyeth an Empire?* Of which point *Agapetus Diaconus* teacheth *Justinian*, (who at the same time was Emperor in the East) to make this use, † *seeing God hath entrusted you with this Kingdom of the World, use none of the wicked to the administration of your affairs:* and again, ‖ *seeing you have received the Scepter of the Kingdom from God, consider how you may please him who gave the same unto you; and being by him exalted above all men, strain your self more than all others to honour him.* Let us add to this the Sentence of the Council of *Toledo*, ∴ *It is unlawful to call his power into question to whom the Government of all is known to be delegated by judgment from above:* and of *Paris*, * *No*

† *Tanto Divinitati plura debemus quanto cæteris mortalibus majora suscepimus. Nam quid simile rependat Deo qui potitur imperio?* Cassiodor. l. 8. epist. 24.

† Ἐγκόσμιον ὑπὸ Θεοῦ πιστευθεὶς βασιλείαν μηδενὶ χρῶ τῶν πονηρῶν πρὸς τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων διοικήσεις. Agapet. Paranetic. c. 30.

‖ Σκῆπτρον βασιλείας παρὰ Θεοῦ δεξάμενος σκέπτου πῶς ἀρέσεις τῷ ταύτην σοι δεδωκότι· καὶ ὡς πάντων ἀνθρώπων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προτιμηθεὶς, πλέον πάντων ἐπείγου κασαγεραίρειν αὐτόν. Idem c. 16.

∴ *Nefas est in dubium deducere ejus potestatem cui omnium gubernatio superno constat delegata judicio.* Concil. Toletan. 6. c. 14.

* *No King is to think that his Kingdom cometh unto him by his Progenitors, but ought truly and humbly to believe that it is given unto him by God:* for *whoſoever hath the temporal rule over other Men, is to believe that the Kingdom is committed unto him not by Men, but by God; foraſmuch as this earthly Kingdom is obtained neither by craft, nor by wiſh, nor by the arm of Mans ſtrength, but by the power and ſecret judgment of the providence of God.* So likewiſe the Council held at *Meaulx* declareth out of S. *Paul*, that † *the Regal Power is from God:* and that of *Aken* puts *Lotharius* ‖ in mind of his *vocation*, that *Chriſt the King of Kings, who on earth in his name had ſubſtituted him for the worthy diſpenſation of his Office, might in Heaven remunerate him.* And in a third held at *Troſley*, the Biſhops do both acknowledg out

* *Nemo regum à progenitoribus regnum ſibi adminiſtrari, ſed à Deo veraciter atque humiliter credere debet dari, &c. Quapropter quiſquis cæteris mortalibus temporaliter imperat, non ab hominibus, ſed à Deo ſibi regnum commiſſum credat, &c. quia non aſtu, non voto, neque brachio fortitudinis humanæ, ſed virtute, imo occulto judicio diſpenſationis divinæ regnum confertur terrenum.* Concil. Pariſ. 6. c. 5. tom. 2. Concil. Galliæ p. 529.

† *Si quis poteſtati regiæ, quæ non eſt, juxta Apoſtolum, niſi à Deo, contumaci ac inflato ſpiritu, contra auctoritatem & rationem pertinaciter contradicere præſumpſerit, &c. anathematizetur.* Concil. Meldenſ. c. 15. tom. 3. Conc. Gal. p. 36.

‖ *Chriſtianiſſimo principi ad memoriam reduximus, ut non immemor vocationis ſuæ, quod nomine cenſetur opere compleat; ut rex regum Chriſtus, qui ſui nominis vicem illi contulit in terris, diſpenſationis ſibi creditæ dignam remunerationem reddat in cœlis.* Concil. Aquiſgran. 3. c. 1. ibid. p. 189.

of S. *Peter*, that * *the Regal sublimity is substituted by God*; and pray for their King, that † *having well performed the Government committed unto him from him who gave him the temporal Kingdom, he might receive that which is everlasting.* And the *French* Bishops, in the Profession which they made unto *Carolus Calvus*, || promise their faithful assistance for the upholding of him in *the Kingdom which God had bestowed, or should bestow upon him*: as in a former Oath also his Subjects ∴ promised the like assistance for the maintaining of that power which in the Regal name and Kingdom God had granted unto him.

The time would fail me to recount all the passages which occur in the Constitutions of *Justinian* to this purpose; this taste only for the present may be sufficient, † *The greatest gifts which Gods*

* *In quo facto Pontificalem si erexerimus auctoritatem, ut non obliviscamur Regiam à Deo constitutam esse sublimitatem; dicente Apostolo, Subjecti estote regi quasi præcellenti.* Concil. Trosleian. c. 2. Ibid. p. 539.

† *Hac vobis commissa decenter administratione peracta, ab eo qui temporale vobis dedit regnum, accipere æternum.* Ibid. p. 541.

|| *Fidelis vobis adjurator ero, ut regnum quod vobis Deus donavit, vel donaverit, ad ipsius voluntatem, &c. habere & obtinere possitis.* Capitular. Caroli Calvi à Jac. Sirmundo edit. c. 38. p. 387.

∴ *Fidelis vobis adjurator ero, ut illam potestatem quam in Regio nomine & regno vobis Deus concessit, ad ipsius voluntatem, & ad vestram ac fidelium vestrorum salvationem, cum debito & honore & vigore tenere & gubernare possitis.* Id. c. 22. p. 165.

† Μέγιστα ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐστὶ δῶρα Θεοῦ, παρὰ τὸ ἄνωθεν δεδωμένα φιλανθρωπίας, Ἱερωσύνη τε καὶ βασιλεία, &c. ἐκ μιᾶς τε καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ἀρχῆς ἡκατέρα τρι ῖοῦσα, καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπινον κατακοσμοῦσα βίον. Just. Nov. 6. init.

good-

goodness from above hath conferred on men, are the Priesthood *and* Empire; *both of which do proceed from one and the same Principle, and are for the ordering and disposing of the affairs of Mankind.* * Nothing is exempted from the cognizance of Regal Power, which hath received from God the general charge of all sorts of men. And of himself in particular, † *The Empire is delivered unto us by the Heavenly Majesty.* || *By the divine appointment we took upon us the Imperial Robes,* & :: *the rights of the Empire by our Lord Jesus Christ.* ∴ *God did set us over the affairs of the Romans,* and * *gave us rule over the Nations.* † *He according to his benignity entrusted us with the power of the Laws.* And || *forasmuch as for this end God from Heaven hath constituted the Regal Power, we thought good to write this Law, and give it in com-*

* Μηδὲν ἄβατόν ἐστιν εἰς ζήτησιν τῆ βασιλείᾳ. κοινὴν πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐπιστασίαν ἐκ Θεοῦ παραλαβούσῃ. Id in Nov. 133. proœmio.

† *Deo auctore nostrum gubernante Imperium, quod nobis à cœlesti majestate traditum est.* Cod. de vet. jur. enucl. in init.

|| *Nutu divino Imperiales suscepimus infulas.* l. fin. in ff. c. de quadrien. præscript. which *Agapetus* in his Admonitions to him, num. 45. did thus iterate. Νεύματι Θεοῦ βασιλείαν λαβών.

:: *Per ipsum* (Christum) *jura Imperii suscepimus,* l. 2. in princip. c. de offic. Præf. Præt. Afr.

∴ Ἡμᾶς ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς Ῥωμαίων ἐπέστησε πράγμασι. Novel. 47.

* Ἐν τοῖς ἔθνησιν, ὧν ἡμῖν ἐξάρχειν δέδωκεν ὁ Θεός. Ibid.

† Νόμων πολιτικῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπίστευσε. Nov. 137. init.

|| Ἐπειδὴ βασιλείαν διὰ τοῦτο ὁ Θεὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καθῆκεν, &c. ἀνήθημεν χρῆναι. καὶ τοῦτον γράψαι τὸν νόμον, καὶ δοῦναι ἐν κοινῷ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις ὁπόσος, ἡμῖν ὁ Θεὸς πρότερον τε παρέδωκε, καὶ κατὰ μικρὸν ἀεὶ προστίθησι. Nov. 73.

mon to those Subjects which both already he hath committed to us and by little and little doth daily add to. As also in a like expression he willeth other Laws of his to be observed, not in the Imperial City alone, but also * *in all those Nations, the Government of some whereof,* saith he, *God at first gave to us; others he hath since added, and we hope will still increase.* And from hence he neglected not often to make mention of that duty which he held himself bound thereby to perform unto his Subjects; † *Since the time,* saith he, *that God did set us over the Empire of the Romans, we have been diligent to do always what might conduce to the profit of the Subjects of this Common-wealth wherewith God hath entrusted us:* and ‖ *to preserve all our Subjects, the Government of whom God hath committed unto us, without hurt or damage.* ∴ *Always by Gods assistance we use all providence to preserve*

* Ἐν ἅπασι τοῖς ἔθνεσιν ὧν ἡμῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν, τὴν μὲν ἐξ ἀρχῆς, ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς, τὴν δὲ προσέθηκεν, ἠδ' ἔτι καὶ δώσει (φησί τι τῶν πρὸ ἡμῶν) Nov. 60. ubi ad Homericum illud allusisse videatur, Iliad. α. Τοὔνεκ' ἀρ' ἄλγε' ἔδωκεν ἐκηβόλος. ἠδ' ἔτι δώσει.

† Ἐξ οὗπερ ἡμᾶς ὁ θεὸς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐπέστησε βασιλείᾳ, πάσην τιθέμεθα σπουδὴν πάντα πράττειν ἀεὶ τὰ πρὸς ὠφέλειαν τῶν ὑπηκόων τῆς ἐμπιστευθείσης ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πολιτείας. Novel 86. init.

‖ Σπεύδομεν πάντας τοὺς ἡμετέρους ὑπηκόους, ὧν τὴν διοίκησιν ὁ θεὸς ἡμῖν ἐπίστευσεν, ἀβλαβεῖς καὶ ἀνεπηρεάστους φυλάττειν. Nov. 85. init.

∴ Ἀεὶ μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας πᾶσι ποιούμεθα πρόνοιαν τοῦ τὸ ὑπηκόον, τὸ παρὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ φιλανθρωπίας παραδωθὲν ἡμῖν, ἀβλαβὲς φυλάττεσθαι. Novel 80. init.

from

from hurt the Subjects which he of his benignity hath committed unto us: and * *we think it is manifest unto all those who are well-minded, that all our care and prayer is, that those may live well who are committed to our trust by God our Lord.*

* Πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις τοῖς ὅστι εὖ φρονοῦσι πρόδηλον εἶναι νομίζομεν, ὅτι πᾶσα ἡμῖν ὅστι σπουδὴ καὶ εὐχή, τὸ τοὺς πιστευθέντας ἡμῖν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου Θεοῦ καλῶς βιοῦν.

His Successor *Justinus* is by *Corippus* brought in speaking thus,

Imperii Deus est virtus & gloria nostri,
A quo certa salus, sceptrum datur atque potestas.

God is the strength and glory of my Crown,
From him my Safety, Scepter, Power come down.

Whereof he himself likewise giveth a touch in † one of his Constitutions. And after him *Tiberius* acknowledgeth it was || *God that gave him the Government of the Commonwealth,* ἡ ἐκ Θεοῦ βασιλεία ἡμῶν, (*our Sovereignty constituted by God*) is a stile we meet with-

† Τῆς παραδοθείσης ἡμῖν ἐκ Θεοῦ πολιτείας κηδόμενοι. Inter Justinianæas, Nov. 148.

|| Ἐξ οὗ τῆς πολιτείας ἡμῖν τὸ κράτος δέδωκεν ὁ Θεός. Tiber. Constitut. de divinis domibus Præfat.

al

all in the*Novels of *Constantius* and *Basilius Porphyrogennetus*. And *Manuel Commenus* beginneth one of his thus, † *The Wisdom of the Ancients defined Regal power to be a legal administration of things, a divine matter; and accordingly did both believe and profess it to be a great part of the providence of God Almighty.* The same *Manuel* also both in his || Coins expressed, and in his Letters wrote himself to be ∴ *Crowned by God.* Which honourable Title of θεοστεφὴς his predecessors the *Constantinopolitan* Emperors not only of themselves assumed, but the Bishops of *Rome* acknowledged due to them; **Gregory* 2. (with the † *Roman* Council held under him;) || *Zachary* and ∴ *Paul* I. dating their Acts in this manner, *Imperante Domino piissimo Augusto, à Deo coronato, magno Imperatore.*

So Pope *Hadrian* I. beginneth one of his Letters to *Charles* the Great with * *Me-*

* Appendic. βασιλικῶν à Jo. Leunclavio. edit. p. 14. & 50.

† Ἔννομον ἐπιστασίαν οἱ πάλαι σοφοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὡρίσαντο χρῆμα γοῦν ἀτεχνῶς θεσπέσιον· διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φρόνοιαν θεοῦ μεγαλομερῆ ταύτην εἶναι καὶ πεπιστεύκασι καὶ διδάσκουσιν. Ibid. p. 176.

|| See in Octav. de Strada (de Imperatorib. Rom. p. 338.) the Medal, wherein Christ is figured putting on a Garland upon the Emperors Head.

∴ *Divinitus Coronatus.* Eman. Comnen. literæ ad Fridericum apud Albert. Stadens. in Chronic. an. 1179.

* Gregor. Epist. 2, 9. 14, 27. Concil. tom. 3. part. 1. sect. 1. p. 340, 343, 344, 346. edit. Colon. an. 1618.

† Concil. Roman. ibid. p. 347.

|| Zachar. Epist. 1, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12. ibid. p. 364, 366, 367, 370, 371, 373, 375.

∴ Paul Epist. 1, & 2. ibid. p. 401, 402.

* *Meminit veſtra à Deo promota Regalis excellentia*: and *Charles* himſelf one of his capitulars with † *Regnante Domino noſtro Jeſu Chriſto in perpetuum, Ego Carolus, gratia Dei ejuſque miſericordia donante, Rex & rector regni Francorum.* And when he was afterward Crown'd Emperor, the People of *Rome* with an unanimous conſent uſed this ſolemn acclamation unto him, ‖ *Carolo Auguſto,* A DEO CORONATO, *Magno & Pacifico Imperatori Romanorum, Vita & Victoria.* Whereof *Alcuinus* alſo doth put him in mind, by telling him as in the general, that ∴ *the Imperial dignity was ordained by God:* ſo for his own particular, that this * *Power was conferred on him by God, not for the Government of the World alone; but eſpecially for the defence of the Church, and the gracing of Wiſdom.* Among the *German* Emperors *Frederick* I. maketh a like acknowlegment and profeſſion, † *For-*

* Tom. 2. Concil. Galliæ p. 122.

† Capitular. Aquiſgranenſ. ibid. p. 130.

‖ Eginhard in annal. Franc. an. 801. Anonym. vitæ Caroli M. ſcriptor à P. Pithœo edit. Anaſtaſ. Bibliothecar. in vita Leon. 3. P.

∴ *Dignitas Imperialis à Deo ordinata.* Alcuinus Præf. in libros de S. Trinitate.

* *unde patenter agnoſci poterit, non tantum Imperatoriam veſtræ prudentiæ poteſtatem à Deo ad ſolum mundi regimen, ſed maxime ad Eccleſiæ præſidium & ſapientiæ decorem collatam.* Id. ep. 106.

† *Quoniam divina præordinante clementia ſolium Regiæ Majeſtatis conſcendimus, dignum eſt ut cujus præcellimus munere, illi omnino pareamus in opere.* Feudor. l. 2. tit. 27. de pace tenenda & ejus violat.

aſmuch

asmuch as by the appointment of the divine clemency we have ascended to the Throne of Regal Majesty, it is fit we should throughly obey him in our actions by whose gift we have attained to this preeminence. And *Lewis* of *Baviere* sheweh largely in one of his Rescripts out of the Canon Law it self, that * *the Imperial Power and Authority is immediately from God alone*: and in another, † *by the counsel and consent of the Electors and the other Princes of the Empire*, maketh a solemn declaration to the same purpose, that *the Imperial dignity and power immediately dependeth upon God alone.*

* *Ex quibus & aliis pluribus, quæ brevitatis causa dimittuntur, clare patet, quod potestas & authoritas Imperialis est immediate à solo Deo, & non à Papa.* Ludov. Imp. apol. in append. ad Hen. Rebdorfensis annal. à M. Frehero edit.

† *Ideo ad tantum malum evitandum, de consilio & consensu Electorum & aliorum Principum Imperii, declaramus quod Imperialis dignitas & potestas pendet immediate à solo Deo.* Id. in lit. aliis apud H. Balbum episc. Gurcensem in l. de coronat. ad Car. 5.

Yea, in the more ancient Times we have marks of this Truth from the very Painters, who * *by corporeal things representing those which were incorporeal* (as *Isidorus Pelusiota* noteth) *used to figure a single hand Crowning the Heads of Kings; to shew that their*

* Ὁ ζωγραφοὶ ἵνα καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκείνων τόλμης τὴν ἀπόδεισιν ποιήσωμαι, σωματοποιοῦντες τὰ ἀσώματα, χεῖρα γράφειν ἐπιχειροῦσι μόνην, στέφουσαν τῶν τῆς γῆς βασιλεύοντον τὰς κορυφάς, ἵνα δείξωσιν οὐρανόθεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδόσθαι. Isid. Pelus. ep. 161.

their Authority deſcended to them from Heaven. Which expreſſion of a divine act by a ſimple hand out of a cloud, as for the general, both in the *Greek Geneſis* or *Latin Pſalter* of Sir *Robert Cotton*, (the moſt ancient of any now extant, and coming not much ſhort of *Iſidorus* his own time) I have obſerved to be very uſual: ſo for this particular you may note the continuation of the like emblem unto later Ages in * this reverſe of the Emperor *Theophylactus* his Medal, ſtamped about the Year DCCCXII.

Apud. Octav. de Strada de Imperat. Rom. p. 294.

Having

Having ſearched thus far into the ground of Sovereignty, and (by reaſons and witneſſes of all ſorts) deduced the Original thereof from no lower an head than Heaven it ſelf, let us now look a little into thoſe Royal Prerogatives which are annexed to the eminent eſtate of ſuch ſupreme Governors. Theſe *jura Majeſtatis*, of old, (for the more diſtinct notice, and better preſervation of them) were ſometimes written in a *Book*, ſometimes engraven in *Tables of Braſs*; and ſo tranſmitted ſafely to Poſterity. Thus when * *Samuel* had declared to the People this *jus Regium*, it is ſaid, that *he wrote it in a Book, and laid it up before the Lord:* and when the *Jews* had choſen *Simon* the brother of *Jonathan* for their Prince, they cauſed the chief heads of that Supreme Power committed unto him, † *to be put in Tables of Braſs, and to be ſet up within the compaſs of the Sanctuary in a conſpicuous place*: Wherein, beſide *the charge of the Sanctuary*, and the care of placing Officers over *the Works*, *the Countrey*, *the Armour*, *and the Fortreſſes*, it was further enacted, *That he ſhould be obeyed of every Man, and that all the Writings in the Countrey ſhould be made*

* 1 Sam. 10. 25.

† 1 Mac. 14. 18.

made in his name, and that he ſhould be cloathed in Purple, and wear Gold. Alſo that it ſhould be lawful for none of the People or Prieſts to break any of theſe things, or to gain-ſay his words, or to gather an Aſſembly in the Country without him, or to be cloathed in Purple, or wear a buckle of gold. And whoſoever ſhould do otherwiſe, or break any of theſe things, he ſhould be puniſhed. Where among other things, it is obſervable, that *the gathering of Aſſemblies* is reckoned as an eſpecial privilege of the Prince. To which purpoſe both remarkable and agreeable is that of *Iſocrates*, who under the Perſon of King *Nicocles* thus inſtructs his Subjects; * *Make no Societies nor Conventicles without my licence: Aſſemblies of this kind, as in other Governments they are hurtful, ſo in Monarchies they are exceeding dangerous.* Whereunto that of *Mecænas* in *Dio* may be likewiſe added, † *Combinations, and Aſſemblies, and Aſſociations, are things that do not very well conſiſt with a Monarchy.*

* Ἑταιρείας μὴ ποιεῖτε, μήτε συνόδους, ἀγορὰ γὰρ ἐμοῖς γνώμης· αἱ δὲ τοιαῦται συστάσεις, ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις πολιτείαις πλεονεκτοῦσιν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μοναρχίαις κινδυνεύουσιν. Iſoc. in Nicocle.

† Σωματεῖα καὶ συστάσεις ἑταιρεῖαι τε ἥκιστα μοναρχίᾳ συμφέρει. Dio hiſt. Rom. l. 52. Vid. tit. de Colleg. & Corpor. in Pandect.

When

When * the Senate of *Rome* had decreed to *Vespasian* such rights as did usually belong to Princes, the particulars (according to the manner abovementioned) were put into brass Tables; the last of which is still there extant; removed from the *Lateran* Church (where it stood fixed a long while) unto the Capitol: in that, beside the power of * *confederating with whom he would*, and many other priviledges, we find this high Prerogative confirmed unto him, || that what Laws soever either of the Senate or People it was ordained that the Emperors his predecessors were not tied to, from those he should be loose also: Which, according to the mind of the Civilians, is expressed thus, ∴ *They are loosed from the Laws, (as the letter of their own Language speaks) that is, they are free from all coactive obedience to them, and are held by none of the written Ordinances:* shewing that they were exempted, first, from all *coaction* of the Law,

* *Romæ senatus cuncta principibus solita Vespasiano decernit.* Corn. Tacitus hist. l. 4.

† *Fœdusve cum quibus volet facere liceat.* Vet. Inscript. à Grutero edit. p. 242.

|| *utique quibus legibus plebisve scitis scriptum fuit ne Divus Aug. Tiberiusve Julius Cæsar Aug. Tiberiusque Claudius Cæsar Aug. Germanicus tenerentur, iis legibus plebisque scitis Imp. Cæsar Vespasianus solutus sit.* Ibid.

∴ Λέλυνται τῶν νόμων, ὡς αὐτὰ τὰ Λατινικὰ ῥήματα λέγει, τούτεστιν, ἀπὸ πάσης ἀναγκαίας νομίσεώς εἰσι, καὶ οὐδενὶ τῶν γεγραμμένων ἐνέχονται. Dion. Hist. Rom. l. 53.

Law, (this being accounted **the happieſt thing in a Princedom, that the Prince may be conſtrained to nothing*) and then from all obligation to the written or poſitive Law, which here is oppoſed to that which *Tully calleth* the †*not written, but innate* Law; ‖*from which* (as he well obſerveth) *neither by the Senate nor by the People exemption can be given.*

* *Exceptumque principi illud in principatu beatiſſimum, quod nihil cogitur.* Plin. Panegyr. ad Trajan.

† *Eſt hæc non ſcripta, ſed nata lex; quam non didicimus, accepimus, legimus, verum ex natura ipſa arripuimus, hauſimus, expreſſimus; ad quam non docti, ſed facti, non inſtituti, ſed imbuti ſumus.* Cic. Orat. pro Milone.

‖ *Huic legi nec abrogari fas eſt, neque derogari ex hac aliquid licet, neque tota abrogari poteſt: nec vero aut per Senatum aut per Populum ſolvi hac lege poſſumus.* Id. l. 3. de Republ. apud Lactant. l. 3. c. 8.

For the more full underſtanding hereof, obſerve we the diſtinction to be made between theſe three kinds of Laws, the Law of *God*, the Law of the *King*, and that which is *Gods* Law and the *Kings* together. Under the firſt of theſe we comprehend alſo the Law of Nature, of which (as the ſame *Tully* rightly noteth) * *God, that one common*

Annus erit communis quaſi magiſter & imperator omnium Deus ille, legis hujus inventor, diſceptator, lator; cui qui non parebit, ipſe ſe fugiet, ac naturam hominis ſpernabitur, atque hoc ipſo luet maximas pœnas, etiamſi cætera ſupplicia quæ putantur effugerit. Id. ib. *Hanc video ſapientiſſimorum fuiſſe ſententiam, legem neque hominum ingeniis excogitatam, nec ſcitum aliquod eſſe populorum, ſed æternum quiddam quod univerſum mundum regeret, imperandi prohibendique ſapientia. Ita principem legem illam & ultimam mentem eſſe dicebant omnia ratione aut cogentis aut vetantis Dei.* Id. l. 2. de Leg.

Maſter and Ruler of all, is the Inventor, Arbitrator, and Enactor; which he who will not obey, muſt in a ſort fly from himſelf, and reject Mans nature; and conſequently undergo the greateſt pains from his own conſcience, *although he ſhould eſcape all thoſe other which commonly are accounted puniſhments.* Now to this Moral Law of God, whether * *by nature* thus *written in the hearts* of Men, or more fully delivered in Gods own written Word, or by juſt conſequence deduced from the grounds of either of them, the greateſt Monarch upon Earth owes as much obedience as the loweſt and meaneſt of all his Subjects: And therefore the Civilians themſelves, † who deny the King to be ſubject unto other Laws, do yet declare that theſe || *general Laws ought to prevail even againſt him alſo.* Concerning which, hear what *John* of *Sarisbury* writeth, ∴ *There*

* Rom. 2. 14. 15.

† Ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς νόμοις οὐχ ὑπόκειται. Baſilic. l. 2. tit. 6. c. 1. Harmenopul. epit. juris l. 11. tit. 1. Sect. 48.

|| Κατὰ βασιλέως οἱ ἡμέτεροι κελεύουσι νόμοι. Baſilic. ibid. c. 9. Harmenopul. lb. Sect. 39.

∴ *Sunt autem præcepta quædam perpetuam habentia neceſſitatem, apud omnes gentes legitima, & quæ omnino impune ſolvi non poſſunt. Ante legem, ſub lege, ſub gratia, omnes lex una conſtringit,* 'Quod tibi non vis fieri alii ne feceris; 'and quod tibi vis fieri hoc facias aliis. *Procedant nunc dealbatores potentum, ſuſurrent, & (ſi hoc parum eſt) publice præconentur. Principem non eſſe legi ſubjectum, & quod ei placet (non modo in jure ſecundum formam æquitatis condendo, ſed qualitercunque) legis habere vigorem. Regem, quæ legis nexibus ſubtrahunt, ſi volunt & audent, exlegem faciant? Ego non modo his renitentibus, ſed mundo reclamante, ipſos hac lege teneri confirmo.* Jo. Sarisb. Polyc. l. 4. c. 7.

are

are certain Precepts which have a perpetual neceſſity, are currant with all Nations, and which by no means without guilt may be broken. Before the Law, under the Law, and under Grace, this one Law did bind all. 'What thou wouldſt not have 'done to thy ſelf, do not thou unto 'another; and what thou wouldſt have 'done unto thy ſelf, the ſame do thou 'unto others. *Let thoſe parjetters of great men now come forth, let them whiſper, or (if that be too little) let them preach publickly, that the Prince is not ſubject to the Law, and that what pleaſeth him (not only in the making of a Law, according to the tenour of equity, but any way whatſoever) hath the force of a Law. Let them, if they will and they dare, make the King, whom they exempt from all obligation of the Law, to be a Lawleſs Perſon; Whatever not only they, but the whole World ſhall ſay to the contrary, I will ſtand to it, that they are bound by this Law.*

For altho * the King be Lord of all, yet is he the Servant of God together with all: Nay, for Gods Law, we find that the King had this particular charge laid upon him above others, † *It ſhall be when he ſitteth upon the Throne of his Kingdom, that he ſhall write him a*

* Κύριος μὲν πάντων ἐστὶν ὁ βασιλεύς, δοῦλος δὲ ὁμοῦ πάντων ὑπάρχει Θεοῦ. Agaper. Parænet. ad Juſtinian. c. 68.

† Deut. 17. 18, 19, 20.

copy of this Law in a Book, out of that which is before the Priests the Levites. And it shall be with him, and he shall read therein all the days of his life: that he may learn to fear the Lord his God, to keep all the words of this Law and these Statutes to do them. That his heart be not lifted up above his brethren, and that he turn not aside from the commandment to the right hand or to the left; to the end that he may prolong his days in his Kingdom, he and his Children in the midst of Israel. Whereupon *Philo* bringeth in the King using this Soliloquy, * *I being so great a Prince did write these things, not using any other Scribe, having so many thousands under me: to the end that while I did write them in the Book I might transcribe them into my soul, and imprint in my mind those divine characters never to be washed out again. Whereas other Kings therefore bear Staves for their Scepter, this abridgment of the Law shall be my Scepter, my rejoycing and glory uncontrolable, the ensign of that unreprovable Government which it fashioned according*

* Ἐγὼ ταῦτ' ἔγραψα ὁ τοῦτος ἄρχων., μὴ προσχρησάμενος ὑπηρέτῃ ἑτέρῳ, μυρίων ὄντων, &c. ὅπως αὐτὰ ἐν βίβλῳ γράφων, εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν μεταγράφω, καὶ ἐναπομάττωμαι τῇ διανοίᾳ θειοτέρους καὶ ἀνεκπλώτους χαρακτῆρας. Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι βασιλεῖς βακτηρίας ἔχοντες σκηπτροφοροῦσιν, ἐμοὶ δὲ τὸ σκῆπτρον ἡ βίβλος ἔσται τῆς ἐπινομίδος, καύχημα καὶ κλέος ἀναντάγωνιστον, ἐπίσημον ἡγεμονίας ἀνεπιλήπτου πρὸς ἄρχετυπον τὴν Θεοῦ βασιλείαν ἀπεικονισθείσης. Philo in libro de creatione Principis.

cording to the pattern of Gods own Kingdom. So that nothing hereby is detracted either from the Liberty of the King, while he is made Subject unto him whose service is perfect freedom; or from his power, while he is left * *to do nothing else but that which God shall commend.* For while hereby we † *temper the Majesty of Cæsar* (as *Tertullian* speaketh) *under God, we commend him the more to God, unto whom alone we do subject him*: he being ‖ *therefore great, because he is less than Heaven.*

* Ἡλίκλω ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἄνθρωπος, μὴ ποιεῖν ἄλλο ἢ ὅτερ μέλλει ὁ Θεὸς ἐπαινεῖν. M. Antonin. l. 12. de vita sua.

† *Temperans majestatem Cæsaris infra Deum, magis illum commendo Deo, cui soli subjicio.* Tertul. apol. c. 33.

‖ *Ideo magnus est, quia cæ'o minor est.* Id. ibid. c. 30.

By the *Law of the King* I understand such Ordinances as are meerly civil and positive; the coactive power whereof being derived from him who is the supreme Law-giver under God on Earth, he himself cannot properly be said to be tied thereby. For as with the Grammarians the Imperative Mood hath no first person, so with the Civilians * *No Man can command or forbid himself*; at leastwise, † *No Man can impose such a Law upon himself, but that he may re-*

* *Neque imperare sibi neque se prohibere quisquam potest.* Marcian in l. Si de re sua. De recepr. arbit. Vid. & Ulpian. in l. ille à quo, §. Tempestivum, D. ad Senat. Trebel. & in l. Quod autem, §. Uxori quis D. de donat. inter vir. † *Nemo tam sibi potest legem dicere, ut à priore ei recedere non liceat.* Hermog. in l. Si quis §. 1. D. de leg. 3.

cede from it when he pleaſeth. And with the Schoolmen, * *A Law hath power to direct ſuch Acts as belong to thoſe who are ſubject to the Government of another; whereupon no Man, if we ſpeak properly, doth impoſe a Law upon his own Acts.* As noMan therefore is ſuperiour to himſelf, ſo no man hath juriſdiction over himſelf; becauſe none can oblige a man againſt his will, but only his ſuperiour; and the juriſdiction over a mans ſelf may be diſſolved at pleaſure. To which kind of voluntary ſubmiſſion unto the Laws that memorable ſaying of *Valentinian* the younger may be referred, † *It is in truth a greater thing than the Empire to ſubmit the Princedom it ſelf unto the Laws*: and that of *Alexander Severus*, || *Although the Law of the Empire hath freed the Emperor from the ſolemnities of the Law; yet nothing is ſo proper for Empire as to live by the Laws*, and that which both *Severus* and *Antonius* ſet down ſo oft in their Reſcripts, * *Although we be looſed from the*

* *Lex eſt directiva actuum qui conveniunt ſubjectis gubernationi alicujus: unde nullus, proprie loquendo, juris actibus legem imponit.* Thom. 1. 2. quæſt. 93. artic. 5.

† *Revera majus Imperio eſt ſubmittere legibus Principatuum.* l. 4. C. de leg. & conſtitut.

|| *Licet lex Imperii ſolennibus juris Imperatorem ſolverit, nihil tamen tam proprium Imperii eſt quam legibus vivere.* l. 3. C. de Teſtam.

* *Secundum hoc D. D. Severus & Antonius ſæpiſſime ſcripſerunt, Licet enim (inquiunt) legibus ſoluti ſimus, attamen legibus vivimus.* Inſtitut., Quibus modis Teſtam. infirment. §. ult.

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the Laws, yet we live by the Laws. Whereunto also we may add that commendation which *Plutarch* giveth to *Alexander* the Great, that * *he conceived he ought to be thought superior unto all men, yet subject to Justice:* and *Pliny* to *Trajan,* † *He thinks himself to be one of us; and so much the more excellent and eminent he is, that he so thinketh, and no less remembreth that he is a Man, than that he is a Ruler of Men.* || *For he who hath nothing left to increase his height, hath but this one way to grow by, if he submit himself, being secure of his greatness.* And in his direct Speech to the Emperour himself, ∴ *Thou esteemest us the same, and thy self the same; equal unto all, and in this only greater than the rest, that thou art better than they.* And more nearly to our present purpose, * *Thou hast made thy self subject to the Laws, O Cæsar, which were not written to restrain the Prince by.* But

* Πάντων οἰόμενος δεῖν περιεῖναι, τοῦ δικαίου δὲ ἡπτᾶσθαι. Plut. de fortuna Alexandri Orat. 2.

† *Unum ille se ex nobis; & hoc magis excellit atque eminet, quod unum ex nobis putat; nec minus hominem se, quam hominibus præesse meminit.* Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

|| *Nam cui nihil ad augendum fastigium superest, hic uno modo crescere potest, si se ipse submittat, securus magnitudinis suæ.* Idem ibid.

∴ *Eosdem nos eundem te putas; par omnibus, & hoc tantum cæteris major, quo melior.* Idem ibid.

* *Ipse te legibus subjecisti, legibus, Cæsar, quas nemo principi scripsit: Sed tu nihil amplius vis tibi licere quam nobis.* Idem ibid.

thou wilt have nothing more lawful to thee than is to us. Such written Laws as these, no doubt, *Justinian* the Emperoa meant, when upon the enacting of a constitution of this kind, he addeth thereunto this limitation, * *From all those things that have been said by us let the Emperors state be excepted, whereunto God hath subjected the very Laws themselves, sending him as a living Law unto Men.* Who therefore in another place assumeth unto himself the title of *a Father of the Law*: Whereupon the Glossator maketh this observation, † *Note that the Emperor is the Father of the Law; whereupon the Laws also are subject to him.* For such positive Laws as these, being (as other Works of Men are) imperfect, and not free from many discommodities, if the strict observation thereof should be pursued in every particular; it is fit the *supreme* Governor should not himself only be exempted from subjection thereunto, but also be so far Lord over them, that where he seeth cause he may abate or totally remit the penalty incurred by the

* Πάντων τῶν εἰρημένων ἡμῖν βασιλέως ἐξηρήσθω τύχη, ἧγε καὶ αὐτοῦ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ νόμους ὑποτέθεικε. νόμον αὐτὴν ἔμψυχον καταπέμψας ἀνθρώποις. Justinian. Nov. 105.

† *Nota Imperatorem vocari patrem legis; unde & leges sunt ei subjectæ.* Gloss. in Novel. 12. c. 4.

the breach of them, dispense with others for the not observing of them at all, yea, and generally suspend the execution of them, when by experience he shall find the inconveniences to be greater than the profit that was expected should redound thereby unto the Common wealth. *Plutarch* setteth this down as a chief point of that natural skill which *Philopœmen* had in Government, that he * *did not only rule according to the Laws, but over-rul'd the Laws themselves, when he found it conducing to the Weal-publick.* Such Laws as these S. *Augustine* calleth *temporal*; † *which although they be just, yet in time may justly also suffer a change.* That being most true of them which *Portius Cato* saith in *Livy*, || *No Law is equally commodious unto all; that chiefly is looked to, if it be convenient for the greater part*: and *Sextus Cælicius* in *Gellius*, ∴ *The opportunities and remedies of Laws according to the manners of the Times, the di-*

* Οὕτως ἡγεμονικὴν φύσιν ἔχων, οὐ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἄρχειν ἠπίστατο, πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον. Plutarch. in comparat. Flaminii & Philopœmen.

† *Apellemus istam legem, si placet, temporalem; quæ quamvis justa sit, commutari tamen per tempora juste potest.* Aug. de lib. arbitr. l. 1. c. 6.

|| *Nulla lex satis commoda omnibus est; id modo quæritur si majori parti & in summum prodest.* Porcii Cat. orat. pro lege Oppia, apud Liv. initio l. 34.

∴ *Non ignoras, legum opportunitates & medelas pro temporum moribus, & pro rerum-publicarum generibus, ac pro utilitatum præsentium rationibus, proque vitiorum quibus medendum est fervoribus, mutari atque flecti, neque uno statu consistere, quin*

ut

facies cœli & maris, ita rerum atque fortunæ tempestatibus varientur. A. Gellius l. 20. c. 1. cum illo Justiniani Imp. de reformatione juris Romani. *Multa & maxima sunt, quæ propter utilitatem rerum transformata sunt.* L. 2. Cod. de veteri jure enucleando. & in Procemio Novel. 107. ἡ δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων ποικιλία καὶ ἡ φύσις ταῦτα συχνῶς μεταβάλλουσα, δεῖσθαι τὸν νόμον ἐκεῖνον ἐπανορθώσεως ἡμετέρας παρεσκεύασε.

verse Forms of Government, the regard of present conveniences, and the height of publick enormities, are changed and fitted. They remain not in one and the same state; but, as the face of the Weather and of the Seas, are varied with the tempests of accidents and emergent occasions. So Tertullian, * *if there have been an errour in the Law, I hope it was conceived by a man; for from Heaven surely it fell not: and is it any wonder that a Man either should err in making of a Law, or shew an after-wisdom in rejecting it?* For † *the Laws of Nature indeed* (saith *Justinian*) *which are equally observed among all Nations, and as it were by Gods Providence appointed, do remain always firm and immutable; but those which every Commonwealth maketh unto it self use often to be changed, either by the tacit consent of the People*

* *Si lex tua erravit, puto ab homine concepta est; nec enim de cœlo ruit: Miramini hominem aut errare potuisse in lege condenda, aut resipuisse in reprobanda?* Tert. Apol. c. 4.

† *Naturalia quidem jura, quæ apud omnes gentes peræque observantur, divina quadam providentia constituta, semper firma atque immutabilia permanent: ea vero quæ ipsa sibi quæque civitas constituit sæpe mutari solent, vel tacito consensu populi, vel alia postea lege lata.* Institut. l. 1. de jur. natural. Sect. 11. cum l. De quibus causis 31. D. de legibus.

People, or by another Law brought in afterward. As it fell out in *Draco* his Laws, which * *because they seemed to be sharp above measure, were obliterated, not by any decree or command, but by a silent and unwritten agreement of the Athenians.* And while the Laws do stand in force† *it is fit that sometimes the Kings clemency should be mingled with the severity of them; especially when by that means the Subjects may be freed from much detriment and damage:* || *the condition of the Magistrates, whose sentence is held corrupt, if it be milder than the Laws, being one thing; the Power of Princes, whom it becometh to qualifie the sharpness of them, a far different matter.* Wherein we may hear again, if you please the opinion of *John* of *Sarisbury*, ∴ *I do not,* saith he, *take away the dispensing with the Law out of the hands of the Powers; but such Precepts or Prohibitions as have a perpetual right, are not,*

* *Ejus leges, quoniam videbantur impendio acerbiores, non decreto jussoque, sed tacito illiteratoque Atheniensium consensu, obliteratæ sunt.* A. Gellius l. 11. c. 18. Legum enim ipsarum jussa consensu tacito obliterantur. Id. l. 12. c. 13.

† Τῇ τῶν νόμων ἀκριβείᾳ καὶ βασιλικὴν ἐγκαταμίξαι φιλανθρωπίαν ἐστὶν, ὅτι τῶν προσηκόντων καθέστηκε, καὶ μάλιστα ἡνίκα τοὺς ὑπηκόους πολλῆς ζημίας τε καὶ βλάβης ἐξαιρεῖται τοῦτο τὸ πραττόμενον. Justin. junior Imp. in Præfatione Constit. 3.

|| *Alia est conditio Magistratuum quorum corruptæ videntur esse sententiæ si sint legibus mitiores; alia Dominorum Principum potestas, quos decet acrimoniam severi juris inflectere.* Symmach. l. 10. ep. ult.

∴ *Nec tamen despensationem legis subtraho manibus potestatum; sed perpetuam præceptionem aut prohibitionem habentia, libitu eorum nequaquam arbitror supponenda. In his itaque duntaxat quæ mobilia sunt, dispensatio verborum admittitur, ita tamen ut compensatione honestatis aut utilitatis mens legis integra conservetur.* Jo. Saris. Pol. l. 4. c. 7.

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as I think to be ſubjected unto their will and pleaſure. In thoſe things therefore only which are mutable, the diſpenſation with the Letter of the Law is to be admitted; yet ſo as by the compenſation of honeſty or utility the intention of the Law may be entirely preſerved.

The Law both of *God* and the *King* is that wherein the thing commanded is a part of Gods Law; but the ſanction * or civil puniſhment, whereby Men are deterred from the breach thereof, is by the Prince added thereunto. According to that which we read in the Edict of King *Artaxerxes*, ‖ *Whoſoever will not do the Law of God and the Law of the King, let judgment be ſpeedily executed upon him; whether it be unto death, or to baniſhment, or to confiſcation of goods, or to impriſonment:* and that place in S. *Auſtuſtine*, † *How do Kings ſerve God in fear, but when with a religious ſeverity they forbid and puniſh thoſe things which are done againſt the commandment of God?*

For

* *Legum eas partes quibus pœnas conſtituimus adverſus eos qui contra leges fecerint, ſanctiones vocamus.* Inſtit. L. 2. de rerum diviſ. ſect. 11. *Sanctio legum noviſſime certam pœnam irrogat iis qui præceptis legis non obtemperaverint.* Papinian. in l. 41. D. de pœnis.

‖ Ezra 7. 26.

† *Quomodo ergo Reges Domino ſerviunt in timore, niſi ea quæ contra juſſa Domini ſunt, religioſa ſeveritate prohibendo atque plectendo? Aliter enim ſervit quia homo eſt, aliter quia etiam & rex eſt. Quia homo eſt, ei ſervit vivendo fideliter: quia vero etiam rex eſt, ſervit, leges juſta præcipientes & contraria prohibentes convenienti vigore ſanciendo.* Auguſt. epiſt. 50. ad Bonifacium Comitem.

For as a Man he ſerveth God one way, as a King another way: As a Man he ſerveth him by his own living well, as a King by ſetting out and backing with Power fitting ſuch Laws as command juſt things, and forbid the contrary. In Laws of this nature, to the Precept it ſelf, as coming from God, the King is bound to yield obedience as well as others: but from the penalty annexed thereunto he is exempted. The reaſon is, becauſe the inflicting of puniſhment is an act of a Superior to an Inferior: and therefore though a Father or Maſter were never ſo faulty, none would be ſo abſurd as to think, that their Servants or Children might chaſtiſe them. But to make any one upon Earth ſuperiour to the ſupreme Governor, would imply a manifeſt contradiction: ſo that we muſt of neceſſity come to that concluſion of the Emperor *Marcus Aurelius*, that * *of a free Monarch none may be Judge but God alone.* Which is the ſame which before we have heard from Rabbi *Jeremiah*, that *no creature may judge the King but God*: and is confirmed not only by *Ecphantas* the Pythagorean, who maketh it the privilege,

* Περὶ τῆς αὐταρχίας ὁ Θεὸς μόνος κρίνειν δύναται. Xiphil. Excerpt. ex Dionis M. Aurelio.

privilege, first of *God*, and then of the King under him, *not to be ruled by any*; but also by the general consent of the ancient Christians. For such was the profession of *Tertullian*, † *We worship the Emperor as a Man next unto God, and who hath obtained of God whatsoever he is, and is less than God only.* ‖ *In whose power alone he is, from whom he is the second, and after whom the first.* And of *Optatus*, ∴ *There is none above the Emperor but God alone, who made the Emperor*: he being * *the top and head of all men upon earth*, as *Chrysostom*: *and* † *having none higher than himself upon Earth*, as *Agapetus* speaketh. ‖ *If any of the People commit a fault*, saith *Cassiodorus*, *he sinneth to God and the King*; *but when the King offendeth he standeth guilty unto God alone, because he hath no Man who is to be judge of his doings. Every one who liveth under Authority*

* Ἐντὶ μὲν τῷ Θεῷ, ἐντὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ, αὐτῷ μὲν ἄρχειν, ἄρχεσθαι δ' ὑπ' οὐδενός. Ecphant. apud Stobæum Serm. 46.

† *Colimus Imperatorem ut hominem à Deo secundum; & quicquid est, à Deo consequutum, & solo Deo minorem.* Tertul. ad Scapul. c. 2.

‖ *In cujus solius potestate sunt, à quo sunt secundi, post quem primi.* Idem in apolog. c. 30.

∴ *Super Imperatorem non est nisi solus Deus qui fecit Imperatorem.* Optat. adversus Parmenian. l. 3.

* Βασιλεὺς γὰρ κορυφὴ καὶ κεφαλὴ τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐστιν ἁπάντων. Jo. Chrysost. hom. 2. ad pop. Antioch.

† Οὐκ ἔχει γὰρ ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν αὐτοῦ ὑψηλότερον. Agapet. Paræn. c. 21.

‖ *De populo si quis erraverit, & Deo peccat & Regi: Nam quando Rex delinquit, soli Deo reus est, quia hominem non habet qui ejus facta dijudicat.* Cassiod. in Psal. 50.

rity, ſaith * *Arnobius*, *when he offends ſinneth againſt God, and the Laws of this World alſo; but the King, as living under God alone, and having no Power above his own to fear but Gods only, when he ſinneth, offendeth God alone and none other.* Upon which ground *Conſtantinus Harmenopulus*, the Greek abridger of the Civil Law declareth † *the King not to be ſubject to the Laws*, becauſe *offending againſt them he is not puniſhed.* The ſame reaſon is alſo rendred by St. *Ambroſe*, why || *Kings are tied by no Laws, becauſe they are not called to puniſhment by them, being warranted by the power of their Empire*, As *Symmachus* ſaith of ·.· Factors imployed in remote Countries, that they live as it were looſed from the Laws, becauſe that being ſo far off they ſtand not in any fear of their Maſters.

* *Omnis qui ſub judicio vivit, cum deliquerit peccat Deo, peccat & legibus mundi: Hic autem Rex ſub nullo alio niſi ſub Deo ſolo agens, ipſum ſolum ſuper poteſtatem ſuam metuens, Deo ſoli peccavit.* Arnob. jun. in eund. Pſal.

† Ὁ βασιλεὺς νόμοις οὐχ ὑπόκειται, ἤγουν ἀμαρτήσας οὐ κολάζεται. Harmenopul. epitom. juris l. 1. tit. 1. Sect. 48.

|| *Peccavit David, quod ſolent reges, ſed pœnitentiam geſſit, & indulgentiam petebat, qui nullis tenebatur legibus HUMANIS.* Ambroſ. apol. David. c. 4. *Rex utique erat, nullis ipſe legibus tenebatur; quia liberi ſunt reges à vinculis delictorum: Neque enim ullis ad pœnam vocantur legibus, tuti Imperii poteſtate.* Idem. c. 10.

·.· *Actores abſentium, quibus res longinqua remittitur, tanquam ſoluti legibus vivunt, quoniam procul poſitis nullus dominorum terror incurrit.* Symmach. l. 9. epiſt. 6. Illud Ulpiani [in leg. Princeps D. de legi *Princeps legibus ſolutus eſt*; intelligunt de pœnarilis legibus, ad quas princeps non tenetur; ut in lege Julia & Papia de pœna Caduci, de qua ibi agit Ulpianus. Cujac l. 15. obſerv. 30. Connan. l. 1. Comment. jur. c. 16. Vaſquez. l. 1. Controv. illuſtr. c 2. n. 1. Chriſtianæ deciſ. 9. n. 13.

For

For to this end, ſaith *Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis*, * *were Laws made, that by fear of them the boldneſs of Men might be reſtrained, and that innocency might be ſafe among the wicked; and that in the wicked themſelves the power of doing hurt might be bridled by the fear of puniſhment.* Which end having no place in the King, (who, as S. *Hierom* alſo noteth † *ſtands not in fear of any other*) this difference herein he obſerves between him and his People, that || *they in occaſion of offence have the Judge to fear and the Laws to curb them; the King hath nothing but the Fear of God and the terror of Hell to reſtrain him from running headlong* into all Vice. So that Kings wanting this help, which others have, of containing them within their duties, what they in this point do, doth not proceed from the fear of any civil puniſhment, but from the fear of God.

* *Factæ ſunt leges, ut earum metu humana coerceatur audacia, tutaque ſit inter improbos innocentia; & in ipſis improbis, formidato ſupplicio, refrænetur nocendi facultas.* Iſidor. Orig. l. 5. c. 20.

† *Rex erat, alium non timebat.* Hieron. epiſt. 22. ad Euſtachium, & 46. ad Ruſticum.

|| *Populi peccantes judicem metunt, & à malo ſuo legibus coercentur: Reges autem, niſi ſolo Dei timore metuque gehennæ coerceantur, libere in præceps proruunt.* Iſidor. Sentent. l. 3. c. 50.

Hereupon *Agapetus* giveth this grave advice to the Emperor *Juſtinian*, † *Im-*

† Σαυτῷ τὴν φυλάττειν τοὺς νόμους ἐπίδεις ἀνάγκην, ὡς μὴ ἔχων ἐπὶ γῆς τὸν δυνάμενον ἀναγκάζειν· ὅτω γὰρ καὶ τῶν νόμων ἐπιδείξεις τὸ σέβας, αὐτὸς πρὸ τῶν ἄλλων τούτους αἰδούμενος καὶ τοῖς ὑπηκόοις φανήσεται τὸ παρανομεῖν οὐκ ἀκίνδυνον. Agapet. Paræn. c. 27.

poſe

pose upon thy self a necessity of observing the Laws, because there is none on earth that can constrain thee: Not only what respect thou bearest to them will appear, if thou first thy self reverence them; but thy Subjects will then plainly see how dangerous it will be to break them. So also *Isidore,* * *It is just that the Prince should obey his own Laws; for let them then make account that his Laws shall be observed by all, when as he himself shall shew reverence unto them.* And St. *Ambrose* to the Emperour *Valentinian,* † *What thou hast prescribed unto others thou hast prescribed also unto thy self; for the Emperour maketh Laws which he himself should first keep.* To which purpose likewise *Xenophon* putteth this ‖ among *the greatest benefits* which *Agesilaus* King of the *Spartans* brought unto *his Country, that being the most powerful in the State to the Laws he was most obsequious: for who,* saith he, *would be disobedient* to them, *when he saw the King himself submit to them?*

* *Justum est Principem legibus obtemperare suis: Tunc enim jura sua ab omnibus custodienda existimet, quando & ipse illis reverentiam præbet.* Isid. Sentent. l. 3. c. 15.

† *Quod cum præscripsisti aliis, præscripsisti & tibi: leges enim Imperator fert, quas primus ipse custodiat.* Ambros. l. epist. 3.

‖ Ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις ὠφελήμασι τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τόδε ἐγὼ τίθημι αὐτοῦ ὅτι δυνατώτατος ὢν ἐν τῇ πόλει φανερὸς ἦν μάλιστα τοῖς νόμοις λαβεῖν. Τίς γὰρ ἂν ἠθέλησεν ἀπειθεῖν, ὁρῶν τὸν βασιλέα πειθόμενον; Xenoph. orat. de Agesilao.

But what ſpeak I of *Ageſilaus*, a petty Prince, not worthy of a Kings title, in compariſon of that potent and abſolute Monarch *Cyrus*? whom the ſame *Xenophon*, as a moſt perfect pattern in this kind thus propounds unto us, *Thoſe which were in his view he thought by this means he might beſt excite unto good and laudable actions, if he himſelf, being their Prince, did endeavour to declare himſelf unto his Subjects to be more adorned with vertue than all of them.* For this obſervation he made, *That by the written Laws indeed men were made better; but he eſteemed a good Prince to be a ſeeing Law unto men, as being able both to order matters, and both to behold and puniſh ſuch as behaved themſelves diſorderly. Shewing moreover moderation in himſelf, he made all others to exerciſe that vertue the more. For when he who may be moſt inſolent appears regular, the meaner ſort will have more care not to be diſordered.*

* Τὲς ὃ παρέλεγετας ἑαυτὸν ἐνόμιζε· μάλις' ἂν ὅτι τὰ καλὰ κ) ἀγαθὰ παρεσκεύαζεν ἔργα (ἐπεὶ ὧ ἦν ἄρχων αὐτὸς) εἰ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐπιδεικνύειν πειρᾶτο τοῖς ἀρχομένοις πάντων μάλιςα κεκοσμημένον τῇ ἀρετῇ αἰδήμονέςς μ) γὸ ἐδόκει κ) διὰ τὸν γραφομένους νόμες βελτίες ἠργάσθαι ἀνθρώπες, ἢ ὃ ἀγαθὸν ἄρχοντα βλέποντα νόμον ἀνθρώποις ἐνόμιζεν ὅτι κ) πᾶσιν ἱκανὸς ἔςι κ) ὁρᾶν τ' ἀτακτοῦντα κ) κολάζειν. Xenoph. de inſtit. Cyril. 8.

† Καὶ σωφρονεῖν ὃ αὐτὸν ἐπεδείκνυς, μᾶλλον ἐποίει κ) παύτῳ πάντας αὐτὸν· ὅταν γὸ ὁρῶσιν ᾧ μάλιςα ἔξεσιν ὑβρίζειν, τοῦτον σωφρονοῦντα, ὅπω μᾶλλον οἵγε αἰδεσίμες ἐθέλουσιν εἶναι ὑβριςικὸν ποιοῦντες φαίνεσθαι ἔθ. Idid.

And

And generally that is moſt true which is obſerved by *Tully*, that * *As by the unbridled affections of the Magiſtrate the City uſually is infected, ſo is it amended and rectified by his moderation:* according to that of *Seneca*,

* *ut enim cupiditatibus principum & vitiis infici ſolet tota civitas, ſic emendari & corigi continentia.* Cic. l. 3. de legib.

† *Rex velit honeſta, nemo non eadem volet.* † Senec. in Thyeſte act. 2.

If the Prince juſt things reſpect,
Subjects will the ſame affect.

And *Ovid*,

‖ *Sic agitur cenſura, & ſic exempla parantur;*
Si judex alius quod monet ipſe facit. ‖ Ovid. Faſt. l. 6.

Rulers prove Cenſors, and for Patterns ſtand,
When firſt themſelves obſerve what they command.

For * *the life of the Prince is a cenſure, and that a perpetual*

* Nam vita Principis cenſurâ eſt, eaque perpetua: Ad hanc dirigimur, ad hanc convertimur, nec tam imperio nobis opus eſt quam exemplo. Quippe infidelis recti magiſter eſt metus; melius homines exemplis docentur, quæ imprimis hoc in ſe boni habent, quod approbant quæ præcipiunt fieri poſſe. Plin. Panegyr.

tual one. To it we direct, to it we turn our ſelves; having not ſo much need of command as of example. For fear is no ſuch truſty teacher of right; men are better inſtructed by examples, which have this good in them eſpecially, that they give proof that the things commanded may be done. So ſaith *Pliny* in his Panegyrique to *Trajan*, where he noteth that **we are flexible every way to follow whither the Prince ſhall lead us.* And ſo after him *Claudian* in his Panegyrique upon the fourth Conſulſhip of *Honorius*,

* *Flexibiles in quamcunque partem ducimur à principe; atque, ut ita dicam, ſequaces ſumus.* Idem ibid.

——Tunc obſervantior equi
Fit populus, nec ferre negat, cum viderit ipſum
Auctorem parere ſibi. Componitur orbis
Regis ad exemplum: nec ſic inflectere ſenſus
Humanos edicta valent quàm vita regentis.

Laws are beſt kept by Subjects, when they find
The giver keeps them firſt. All themſelves bind
To his example: nor can Edicts ſway
Mens minds ſo much as Rulers that obey.

As

As *Tacitus* alſo noteth in the example of *Veſpaſian*, that * *the deſire of pleaſing and imitating the Prince, wrought more than either puniſhment of Laws, or fear:* and on the other ſide, *Mecænas* in *Dio* telleth *Cæſar*, that † *if the People ſhould once diſcover that he preſcribed one thing to them, and did himſelf another, they would not fear his threats, but imitate his actions.*

* *Obſequium in principum, & æmulandi amor, validior quam pœna ex legibus, & metus.* Tacit. Annal. l. 3.

† Ὥστε ἂν ἅπαξ καταμάθωσί σε ἄλλα μὲ αὐτοὶς προστάττοντα, ἄλλα δ' αὐτὸν ποιοῦντα, οὐ τὰς ἀπειλάς σε φοβηθήσουσι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἔργα μιμήσονται. Dio hiſt. Rom. l. 52.

Kings therefore are ſaid to be above the Laws whereby they govern their People, partly in reſpect of themſelves, partly in reſpect of others: Of others, inaſmuch as they have power to judge * according to their own *conſcience*, and not according to the letter of the Law; as alſo † to diſpenſe in ſome caſes with the very obedience, in ſome with the puniſhment required by the Law. As when a man is thereby condemned unto baniſhment, the Prince, if he ſee cauſe, may revoke him from thence: and therein

* *Princeps eſt ſupra legem; adeo quod ſecundum conſcientiam ſuam judicare poteſt.* Cynus in l. Reſcript. Cod. de precib. Imper. offerend.

† *Eſt etiam princeps ſupra legem; in quantum ſi expediens fuerit, poteſt legem mutare, & in ea diſpenſare pro loco & tempore.* Thom. in 1. 2. qu. 96. artic. 5. ad 3.

* *Magna & justa causa est ejus voluntas.* Accurs. gloss. in l. 4. D. de pœnis.

† Εἴδομεν ἀνθρώπους ἐκ τῶν τοῦ ἅδου προθύρων εἰς τὸ ζῆν ἐπανιόντας οὓς ὁ μὲν νόμος ἐκεῖσε ἀπῆγεν, ὁ δὲ τοῦ νόμου κύριος ἐκεῖθεν ἐπανήγαγε, γινώσκων ὅ ἄλλη μὲν δικάστου ἄλλη δὲ βασιλέως ἀρετὴ καὶ τῷ μὲν προσήκει ἕπεσθαι, τῷ δὲ ἐπανορθοῦν καὶ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸ ἀπηνὲς αὐτῶν καὶ ἀμείλικτον παραδεικνύναι, ἅτε νόμῳ ἐμψύχῳ ὄντι, καὶ οὐκ ἐν γράμμασιν ἀμοταθέτοις καὶ ἀσαλεύτοις διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ ὡς ἔοικε, βασιλείαν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κατέπεμψεν εἰς τὴν γῆν ὁ Θεὸς, ὅπως ἂν εἴη καταφυγὴ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀκινήτου ἐπὶ τὸν ἔμπνουν καὶ ζῶντα. Themist. orat. 5. de hnmanit. Theod.

* *his own will*, saith *Accursius*, is accounted *a great and just cause*. As also for the recalling of the sentence of death it self, we meet with this passage in *Themistius*, † *We have seen men returned to life from the gates of death; whom the Law indeed sent thither, but the Lord of the Law brought back from thence again; as knowing that one thing becometh a Judge, another a King; that the one is tied to follow the Laws, but the other hath power to correct the Laws themselves, and to qualifie the severity and harshness of them, as being himself a living Law, and not confin'd to unchangeable and unalterable letters. For to this end, it seemeth, God did send from heaven this Regal power into the earth, that men might have a refuge from that dead and unmoveable Law to this living one.* Wherewith we may compare that briefer expression of *Hilary* the Roman Deacon, or whoever else was the Author of the Questions upon the Old and New Testament,

ment, wrongly fathered upon St. *Auguſtin*, **To Judges it is preſcribed not to revoke the ſentence paſſed upon a guilty perſon: but the Emperour himſelf is under no ſuch Law. For he alone hath power to revoke that Sentence, and to abſolve the man condemned to die, and to grant a pardon to him.* That ſaying indeed of the Emperour *Valentinian* III. is much commended, † *It is a voice worthy of the Majeſty of him that reigneth, that the Prince ſhould profeſs himſelf to be bound by the Laws.* But ‖ *although it be a fair thing to ſay ſo, yet is it not to be maintained that the Emperour is ſubject to the Laws, when he is looſed from them*, ſaith Æneas Silvius. *For there is a certain other thing, to which the Emperour is more obnoxious than to the Law; and that is Equity: which is not always found written. For Equity is that which is juſt beyond the written Law: Now if the Law doth command*

* *Judicibus ſtatutum eſt ne licetat in reum datam ſententiam revocare. Nunquid & ipſe Imperator ſub hac erit lege? Nam ipſi ſoli licet revocare ſententiam & reum mortis abſolvere, & ipſi ignoſcere.* Quæſt. 115. ex vet. & nov. Teſtam. tom. 4. oper. Auguſtini.

† *Digna vox eſt majeſtate regnantis, legibus alligatum ſe Principem profiteri.* l. 4. Cod. de legib. & conſtit. princ.

‖ *Quod quamvis pulchrum eſt dicere, non tamen aſſerendum eſt Imperatorem legibus eſſe ſubjectum, cum ſit ſolutus. Eſt enim aliud quiddam cui plus quam legibus obnoxius eſt Imperator; hoc ipſum æquitas eſt, quæ non ſemper invenitur ſcripta. Æquitas enim eſt, quod præter legem ſcriptam juſtum eſt: Quod ſi aliud lex jubet, aliud æquitas ſuadet, convenit Imperatorem juris vigorem æquitatis fræno temperare, cui ſoli inter æquitatem juſque interpoſitam interpretationem licet & i cumbit inſpicere. Præſertim cum nulla juris ſanctio, quantumcunque digeſto perpenſa conſilio, ad varietates humanæ naturæ & machinationes ejus inopinabiles ſufficiat. Cumque humani juris conditio ſemper one*

per in infinitum decurrat, nihilque sit in ea quod stare perpetuo possit (multas enim formas eadem natura novas deproperat, si & secundum tempora statuta variantur humana manifestum est ævi cursu, quæ leges olim justæ fuerunt, injustas reddi sæviq; nunc inutiles, nunc duras, nunc iniquas. Ad quas moderandas opus est Principe, qui legum Dominus est. Nam si quid in eis latum fortassis obscurius fuerit, Imperatorem convenit declarare, durities-que legum suæ humanitati contrariam & incongruam emendare. Quod enim dicitur, legem quamvis duram esse servandam, inferiores judices non Cæsarem respicit; in quo est vis illa moderandarum legum, quam Ἐπιείκειαν vocant, quæ tam annexa est summo Principi, ut nullis possit humanis evelli decretis. Æneas Silvius de ortu & authoribus Imperii cap. 20, 21.

one thing, and Equity perſuade another, it is fit the Emperour ſhould temper the rigour of the Law with the bridle of Equity, as he who alone may and ought to look unto that interpretation which lieth interpoſed between Law and Equity. Eſpecially ſeeing no Degree of the Law, although weighed with never ſo conſiderate Counſel, can ſufficiently anſwer the varieties and unthought-on Plottings of mans nature. And ſeeing the condition of human Law is ſuch, that it runneth always without ſtint, and there is nothing in it which can be at a perpetual ſtand; it is manifeſt, that in tract of time the Laws which before were juſt, prove afterwards to be unjuſt, and become now unprofitable, now harſh, now unrighteous: for the moderating whereof there is need of the Prince, who is Lord of the Laws. For if it fall out, that any thing hath been more obſcurely delivered therein, it is fit the Emperour ſhould clear it, and amend that harſhneſs of the Laws which he ſhall find to be contrary and diſagreeable

greeable to his humanity, For where it is ſaid, that a Law, although it be hard, ſhould yet be obſerved; that reſpecteth the inferiour Judges, and not the Emperour; in whom is that power of moderating the Laws which they call Ἐπιείκεια *or Equity, which is ſo annexed to the Supremacy of the Prince, that by no Degrees of Man it can be pulled from it.* Thus far *Æneas Silvius.*

In regard of *themſelves* Kings are ſaid to be exempted from ſubjection to the Laws, both becauſe they are not tied (otherwiſe than for conveniency and good examples ſake) to the obſervance of ſuch as are meer poſitive and temporary Laws; and becauſe they are not liable to the civil puniſhments ſet down for the breach of any Law, as having no Superiour upon earth that may exerciſe any ſuch power over them: Whereunto, for the later Times, that of *Otto Friſingenſis* may be referred, **Whereas there is no man found in the World which is not ſubject to the Laws of the World, and by that ſubjection kept within compaſs; Kings alone, as being ſet above the Laws, and reſerved to Gods examination,*

* *Cum nulla inveniatur perſona mundialis quæ mundi legibus non ſubjaceat, ſubjacendo corrigatur; ſoli reges, utpote conſtituti ſupra leges, divino examini reſervati, ſeculi legibus non cohibentur.* Otto Friſing. præfat. chron. ad Imp. Frederic. I.

are

are not restrained by any secular Laws. And for the elder, that Speech of *Gregory* Bishop of *Tours* unto the French King *Chilperick*, * *If any of us, O King transgress Justice, you may correct us; but if you do exceed your bounds, who shall restrain you? We indeed speak unto you, and if you will you listen unto us; but if you do not, who can condemn you but he who hath declared himself to be Righteousness?* (that is, God himself alone.) Together with that common interpretation which hath been given unto those words of *David* in the 51 Psalm, *Against thee thee only have I sinned:* whereof *Euthymius* giveth this paraphrase, † *For asmuch as I am a King, and so have thee the only Judg of the crimes committed by me, against thee only I appear to have sinned, that is, I am subject to no other Judge but unto thee alone, for of all the rest I am my self the Lord. Nicephorus* this, || *In respect that I am a King, and subject to thee alone, against thee only have I sinned, Injury,*

* *Si quis de nobis, O Rex, justitiæ tramitem transcendere voluerit, à te corrigi potest; si verò tu excesseris, quis te corripit? Loquimur enim tibi, sed si volueris, audis; si autem nolueris, quis te condemnabit nisi is qui se pronunciavit esse justitiam?* Greg. Turonens. hist. Franc. l. 5. c. 18.

† *Cum rex sim, & te solum commissorum à me scelerum judicem habeam, tibi soli peccasse videor, hoc est, tibi soli judici subjicior: Caterorum enim omnium ego dominus sum.* Euthym. in Psalm.

|| *Rex cum ego sim, tibique soli subjectus, tibi soli peccavi. Alioquin Uriam injuriâ affeci; sed peccatum ipsum ad te transiit, quoniam leges tuas transgressus sum.* Nicephor. in catena Græc. Doctor. in Psal. Lat. à Dan. Barb. edit

Injury, I confeſs, otherwiſe I did unto Urias; *but the ſin of it ſelf reached unto thee, becauſe I did tranſgreſs thy Laws.*

So likewiſe *Didymus*, * *Inaſmuch as he was a King he was not ſubject to any human Law, and ſo ſinned againſt none of thoſe Law-makers.* And *Ambroſe*, † *Being upheld with the Regal eminency, as a Lord of the Laws, in reſpect of the Laws he was not guilty; to God alone he ſtood obnoxious, who is the Lord of Principalities.* And *Lyranus*, ‖ *Becauſe he was a King he had no ſuperiour Judge which might puniſh him, but God.* As *Iſidorus Peluſiota* likewiſe writeth of another who was an Heathen, that * *being a King he was not to expect any judicial ſentence from men; foraſmuch as ſuch were ſubject to Gods judgment only.* And *Cyril* of *Alexandria* in the general, † *Who dare violate the Degrees*

* *Quatenus rex erat non ſubjiciebatur humanæ legi; unde nulli ex legum conditoribus peccavit.* Didym. ibid. Ὅσον δὲ τὸ εἶναι βασιλεὺς οὐχ ὑπέκειτο ἀνθρωπίνῳ νόμῳ ὅθεν οὐδενὶ τῶν νομοθετῶν ἥμαρτεν, ἀλλ' ἐνώπιον τοῦ Θεοῦ μόνου τὸ πονηρὸν ἐποίησεν. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὡς πρὸς τοὺς βασιλεῖς οὐ θεοσύλης εἶ βέλτιον, ὑπέκειτο τῷ τῶν Θεῶν νόμῳ διὸ οὐ ἥμαρτε μόνῳ Θεῷ οὐ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ ἐποίησε. Didym. Ibid. & in Catena Græca MS. in Biblioth. Bodl. & Novi Col. Oxon.

† *Regali ſubnixus faſtigio, quaſi legum dominus legibus reus non erat: ſoli Deo obnoxius tenebatur, qui dominus eſt poteſtatum.* Ambroſ. l. 2. epiſt. 7. ad Simplicianum.

‖ *Quia erat rex non habebat judicem ſuperiorem qui poſſet eum punire niſi Deum.* Nicol. de Lyra in Pſal. 50.

* Βασιλεὺς ὢν, οὐ συθήσας παρ' ἀνθρώπων μὴ μόλλον ἀπολείδος, τῷ δὲ θείᾳ δίκῃ μόνον ὑποκείμενος ὑπαδύθυνος. Iſidor. Peluſ. l. 5. epiſt. 383. ad Petrum Correctorem.

† Τίς τοὺς θεσπίσμασι τοῦ ὄντος βασιλέων ἐξοισασιπᾶς ὁπεύδει, οὐ ῥᾳθύμῳ ὄντι χειρὶ τὰ διὰ τῶν χρεσθέντων σωτηρίας ψήφου οὐ γνώμης εἰ μὴ ἄρα τις εἴη τυχὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἀνεκκειμένων τιμίου οὐ δόξαν; τόπον δὲ ἐν ἐκείνοις οὐκ ἔχει ῥᾳθυμίας τὰ ἐγκλήματα. Cyril. Com. in Johan. 12.

of

of terrene Kings, or attempt to diſſolve the Laws enacted by Princes, unleſs he himſelf be one of thoſe who are inveſted with Regal dignity? for in ſuch the charge of tranſgreſſing the Law hath no place at all. And by this we may eaſily underſtand what *Areſtotles* meaning was when he ſaid, that **a King tied to the Laws doth make no new kind of Government.* For if the People may call him to account for the breach of the Law, the State is plainly *Democratical*; if the Peers, it is *Ariſtocratical*; if either, or both of them, it cannot any way be accounted *Monarchical.* To all which we may add likewiſe that declaration of *Thomas Aquinas*, †*The Prince is ſaid to be looſed from the Law, foraſmuch as concerneth the coactive force of the Law. For no man is properly conſtrained by himſelf; and the Law hath no force coactive but from the Power of the Prince. Thus therefore the Prince is ſaid to be looſed from the Law, becauſe no man can give ſentence of condemnation againſt him, if he do any thing againſt*

*Ὁ ἐπὶ νόμων λελυμένος βασιλεὺς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶδος πολιτείας. Ariſtot. Politic. l. 3. c. 12.

† *Princeps dicitur eſſe ſolutus à legibus, quantum ad vim coactivam legis. Nullus enim proprie cogitur à ſeipſo; lex autem non habet vim coactivam niſi ex Principis poteſtate. Sic igitur Princeps dicitur eſſe ſolutus à lege, quia nullus in ipſum poteſt judicium condemnationis ferre, ſi contra legem agat, &c. Unde quantum ad Dei judicium, Princeps non eſt ſolutus à lege quantum ad vim directivam ejus, ſed debet voluntarius, non coactus, legem implere.* Thom. l. 2. quæſt. 96. artic. 5. ad 3.

againſt the Law. But in reſpect of Gods judgment the Prince is not looſed from the Law foraſmuch as concerneth the directive power thereof; but he ought voluntarily, and not conſtrainedly, to fulfil the Law. And of *Joannes Sarisburienſis*, **The Prince is ſaid to be abſolved from the obligation of the Law, not becauſe unjuſt things may be lawful to him, but becauſe he ought to be one, who, not for the fear of puniſhment, but for the love of Juſtice ſhould regard equity, procure the profit of the Common-wealth, and in all things prefer the benefit of others before his own will and pleaſure.* And ſo (as the Apoſtle ſpeaketh in another caſe) † *having not the Law, he is a Law to himſelf:* ‖ *being not without Law to God, but under the Law to Chriſt.*

* *Princeps legis nexibus dicitur abſolutus, non quia ei iniqua liceant, ſed quia is eſſe debet qui non timore pœnæ, ſed amore juſtitiæ, æquitatem colat, reipublicæ procurat utilitatem, & in omnibus aliorum commoda privatæ præferat voluntati.* Jo. Sarisbur. Polycratic. l. 4. c. 2. Sic & Soto de Juſt. & jur. l. 1. qu. 6. art. 7. concluſ 4. Covarruvias ad c. alma mater p. 1. ſect. 1. n. 3. Navarr. ad c. Si quando. de reſcript. excepr. 8. n. 12. Menoch. de arbitr. Jud. qu. 7. n. 10, 20. Budæus in annot. ad l. Princeps. D. de leg.

† Rom. 2. 14.

‖ 1 Cor. 9. 21.

The King therefore is not hereby made lawleſs, nor hath liberty given unto him to do whatever him liſteth. For Gods word and right reaſon muſt **give a Law to the Law-givers themſelves*, as *Gregory Nazianzen* ſpeaketh to the

* Νομοθετήσει γὰρ ἡ νομοθέτας ὁ λόγος. Greg. Naz. orat. 27.

the Emperours of his time. * *Greatneſs of ſpirit indeed* (ſaith *Themiſtius* to the Emperour *Theodoſius*) *is requiſite in a King; but it is fit alſo that this great ſpirit of his ſhould be obſequious and eaſily perſuaded to yield to reaſon.* † *None being able* (as *Agapetus* addeth in his admonitions to *Juſtinian*) *to correct him who is in ſo high authority, but that very reaſon of his, which is moved by the conſcience of himſelf offending.* And ‖ *although the King hath the Laws ſo in his power,* ſaith St. *Ambroſe, that without fear of puniſhment he may offend, yet is he ſubject to God, who oweth nothing unto any; and to whom more by him is owen, unto whom more by him hath been committed.*

* Δεῖ μὲν γὰρ θυμοῦ μέγεθος ὑπαρχεῖν τῷ βασιλεῖ ἀλλὰ μέγαν ὄντα τὸν θυμὸν εὐήκοον εἶναι πρέπει ὥστε εὐμετάπειστον εἶναι τῷ λόγῳ. Themiſt. orat. 9.

† Οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἱκανὸς ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ τηλικαύτῃ παιδεύειν, εἰ μὴ λογισμὸς οἰκεῖος ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ πλημμελοῦντος κινήσειεν. Agapet. Paræn. c. 36.

‖ *Rex etſi leges in poteſtate habet, ut impune delinquat, Deo tamen ſubditus eſt, qui nulli debet; imo plus ipſe debet, cui plus commiſſum eſt.* Ambr. in Pſal. 118. Ser. 16.

* *Rerum timendorum in proprios greges,*
Reges in ipſos imperium eſt Jovis.

Over Subjects Kings command,
Kings are under *Joves* high hand.

* Horat. carm. l. 3. Od. 1. Vide & Sueton. in C. Jul. Cæſare c. 16. ex Cæſare ipſo, in Juliæ animæ laudatione funebri.

And

And therefore * *Whatsoever they shall unjustly and wickedly, and in a tyranical manner practise against the Law, to the overthrow of Right, therein* (saith *Irenæus*) *they shall perish by the just judgment which cometh equally upon all, and in none* (or *nothing*) *is deficient.* Whereupon that famous Eremite *Anthony*, writing unto *Constantine* the Great, and his Sons *Constantius* and *Constans*, gravely advised them, † *not to esteem their present estate to be great, but rather to remember the judgment which was to come:* which also the Catholick Bishops afterward were not unmindful to put *Constantius* ‖ in remembrance of, when he laboured so earnestly to propagate the *Arrian* Heresie. And the Prelates assembled in an *Italian* Synod, five hundred years after that, do ∴ *humbly suggest* the same unto *Princes*, which (in respect of their Calling) they profess *they dare not to be silent in*; *that they should take*

* *Quæcunque ad eversionem justi, inique & impie contra legem, & more tyrannico exercuerint, in his & peribunt, justo judicio Dei ad omnes æqualiter perveniente & in nullo deficiente.* Iren. adv. hæres. l. 5. c. 24.

† Μὴ μεγάλα ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ παρόντα, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον μνημονεύειν τῆς μελλούσης κρίσεως. Athanas. in vita Antonii.

‖ Ἠπείλουν τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς κρίσεως. Idem in epist. ad solitariam vitam agentes.

∴ *Cavendum summopere Principibus, ut quia minime nunc judicantur, ne in futuro judicio ab omnipotenti Deo gravius judicentur: secundum Apostolum,* Etenim horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis. *Nos vero qui debitores sumus ut fideliter*

special

annunciemus, idcirco humiliter ſuggerimus, quod ſilere non audemus. Synod. Regiaticin. anno 850. habit. c. 16. Wherewith that of *Otto Friſingenſis* alſo may be compared, in his Preface before his Hiſtory unto the Emperour *Friderick Barbaroſſa, Cum enim, juxta Apoſtolum, omni mortali horrendum ſit incidere in manus Dei viventis regibus tamen, qui nullum præter ipſum ſupra ſe habent quem metuant, eo erit horribilius, quo ipſi cæteris poſſunt peccare liberius.*

*ſpecial heed becauſe they are not now judged, that in the judgment to come they be not more ſeverely judged by Almighty God: According to that of the Apoſtle, *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God.*

* Heb. 10. 31.

The ſame Apoſtle in his Epiſtle to the *Coloſſians*, ſpeaking of the mutual duties of Servants and Maſters, ſetteth this down as a general axiom, * *He that doth wrong ſhall receive for the wrong which he hath done; and there is no reſpect of perſons:* and then preſently ſubjoineth, † *Maſters, give unto your Servants that which is juſt and equal, knowing that ye alſo have a Maſter in Heaven.* And in his Epiſtle to the *Epheſians*, treating of the ſame Argument, when he had laid the like general ground for the recompence of well-doing, as he did in the other for doing of wrong, ‖ *Whatſoever good thing any man doth, the ſame ſhall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free*: He addeth in like manner,

* Col. 3. 25.

† Col. 4. 1.

‖ Epheſ. 6. 8, 9.

Ye

Ye Maſters do the ſame thing unto your Servants, *forbearing threatnings; knowing that your Maſter alſo is in Heaven, neither is their reſpect of perſons with him.* The reaſon is univerſal, you ſee; and ſo is appliable as well to the Prince in the Common-wealth, as to the Maſter in the private Family. Whereupon the Scripture telleth us in expreſs terms, that God * *accepteth not the perſons of Princes*; that † *he leadeth Princes away ſpoiled, and overthroweth the mighty*; that ‖ *he changeth the times and the ſeaſons, he removeth Kings, and ſetteth up Kings*; that ∴ *he cutteth off the ſpirit of Princes, and is terrible to the Kings of the Earth.*

* Job 34. 19.
† Job 12. 19.
‖ Dan. 2. 21.
∴ Pſal. 76. 12.

Upon the conſideration of which judgments of God, (oftentimes inflicted by him even in this World, but moſt infallibly in the World to come) King *David* groundeth this admonition of his unto thoſe great ones, * *Be wiſe now therefore, O ye Kings; be inſtructed ye Judges of the Earth, ſerve the Lord with fear.*. Whereof if you will have a more large paraphraſe, you may take this out of the ſixth Chapter of the Book of *Wiſdom*; *Hear thereſore, O ye Kings, and underſtand; learn ye that be*

* Pſal. 2. 10, 11.

Judges of the ends of the Earth. Give ear you that rule the People, and glory in the multitude of Nations. For power is given you of the Lord, and ſovereignty from the Higheſt; who ſhall try your works, and ſearch out your counſels? Becauſe being Miniſters of his Kingdom, you have not judged aright, nor kept the Law, nor walked after the counſel of God. Horribly and ſpeedily ſhall he come upon you: for a ſharp judgment ſhall be to them that be in high places. For mercy will ſoon pardon the meaneſt; but mighty men ſhall be mightily tormented. For he which is Lord over all ſhall fear no mans perſon, neither ſhall he ſtand in awe of any mans greatneſs; for he hath made the ſmall and great, and careth for all alike. But leaving God to his own work, (which he in his infinite wiſdom knoweth beſt how to order) let us look to what concerns our ſelves, and conſider that Subjection which God hath charged us to yield unto our Governours.

PART.

PART II.

THE OBEDIENCE OF THE SUBJECT.

OBEDIENCE to Authority is by *Æschylus* rightly termed *the Mother of Felicity*; by *Philo* the *Jew* † *The best and most profitable thing in our whole life.* And therefore || *Theopompus* King of the *Lacedemonians*, hearing one attribute the safety of *Sparta* to the skill which their Kings had in Goverment; made answer, that this was to be ascribed rather to the Obedience

* Πειθαρχία γὰρ ἐστὶ τῆς εὐπραξίας μήτηρ. *Æschyl.* in Ἑπτὰ ἐπὶ Θήβας, verf. 203.

† Ἄρχεσθαι, τὸ κάλλιστον καὶ βιωφελέστατον. Philo in lib. de Joseph.

|| Θεόπομπος ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, πρὸς τὴν εἰπόντα σώζεσθαι τὴν Σπάρτην, διὰ τοὺς βασιλεῖς ἀρχικοὺς ὄντας. Plutarch. in Præceptis gerendæ Reip.

dience which the People so chearfully rendred unto their Governours. For iin * *Sparta*, above all other places, the most powerful Citizens shewed themselves most obsequious unto the Magistrates, and by their example drew the rest to do the like: as † *knowing Obedience to be the greatest good, both in Cities, in Armies, and in private Families.* So writeth *Xenophon*, in his Book of the Common-wealth of the *Lacedæmonians*: which elsewhere he amplifieth more largely in this Speech which he makes *Chrysantas* use to his Countrymen the *Persians*, || *Consider, I pray, what Town of their Enemies can they take who will not obey? What City of their Friends can they keep that are disobedient? What Army that is irregular and tumultuous can obtain a Victory? What readier way can men make to receive an overthrow in Battel, than when every one shall begin severally to consult of*

* Ἐν δὲ τῇ Σπάρτῃ οἱ κράτιστοι καὶ ὑπέρχοντες μάλιστα τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τῷ ταπεινοὶ εἶναι μεγαλύνοντες, καὶ τῷ ὅταν καλῶνται, τρέχοντες, ἀλλὰ μὴ βαδίζοντες, ὑπακούειν νομίζοντες, ἢν αὐτοὶ κατάρχωσι τοῦ σφόδρα πείθεσθαι ἔψεσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους. ὅπερ καὶ γεγένηται. Xenophon. de Lacedæm. Rep.

† Ἐπείπερ ἔγνωσε τὸ πείθεσθαι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν εἶναι καὶ ἐν πόλει, καὶ στρατιᾷ, καὶ ἐν οἴκῳ. Id. ibid.

|| Ἐννοήσατε γὰρ δὴ, τις ἂν πόλις πολεμία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων ἁλοίη; τίς δ' ἂν φιλία ὑπὸ μὴ πειθομένων διαφυλαχθείη; ποῖον δ' ἂν ἀπειθούντων στράτευμα νίκης τύχοι; πῶς δ' ἂν μᾶλλον ἐν μάχαις ἡττῶντο ἄνθρωποι, ἢ ἐπειδὰν ἄρξωνται ἰδίᾳ ἕκαστος περὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ σωτηρίας βουλεύεσθαι; τί δ' ἂν ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν τελεσθείη ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ πειθομένων τοῖς κρείττοσι; ποῖα δὲ πόλεις νομίμως ἂν οἰκήσειαν, ἢ ποῖοι οἶκοι σωθείησαν; πῶς δ' ἂν νῆες ὅποι δεῖ ἀφίκοιντο; Ἡμεῖς δ' ἃ νῦν ἀγαθὰ ἔχομεν διὰ

of his own ſafety? What other good thing can be effected by thoſe that do not obey their ſuperiours? What Cities can be well governed? What houſes can be preſerved? How can Ships be brought to the Coaſt whereunto they are bound? By what means more have we our ſelves acquired thoſe good things which we now enjoy, than by obeying our Prince? For hereby it came to paſs, that by day and by night we did both ſpeedily come unto the place appointed, and with our whole Forces following our Prince carried all before us; while we left none of thoſe things half done, which were enjoined unto us. And therefore as it is apparent, that Obedience to our Governour is the greateſt means to purchaſe good things; ſo aſſure your ſelves likewiſe, that the very ſame will prove the beſt means to preſerve thoſe things which are convenient for you.

τί ἄλλο μᾶλλον κατεπράξαμεν ἢ διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τῷ ἄρχοντι; διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ταχὺ μὲν ὅποι ἔδει παρεγινόμεθα, ἀθρόοι δὲ τῷ ἄρχοντι ἑπόμενοι, ἀνυπόστατοι ἦμεν, τῶν δ' ἐπιταχθέντων οὐδὲν ἡμιτελὲς κατελείπομεν. Εἰ τοίνυν μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ πειθαρχεῖν φαίνεται εἰς τὸ καταπράττειν τἀγαθὰ, οὕτως εὖ ἴστε ὅτι αὐτὸ τοῦτο καὶ εἰς τὸ διασώζειν ἃ δεῖ μέγιστον ἀγαθόν ἐστι. Xen. lib. 8. κόρου παιδείας.

For to Govern and to be Governed are of ſo near a relation the one unto the other, that from the compoſition of them together (as *Crito* the *Pythago-*

* Ἐν πόλει [ἀσυναρμογὰ] τῶν ἀρχομένων ποτὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἀποτελεῖ κράτος καὶ ὁμόνοιαν. _ Crito, apud Stobæum, Serm. 1.

rean well noteth) raiseth both the *strength* and the *concord* of the whole State: the like necessity being of both, and arising from the same Spring of the Law of Nature. To which purpose that part of *Julius Cæsars* Speech in *Dio*, is very pertinent, * *Two both necessary and wholsom things hath Nature established among men; to Rule, and to be Ruled: without which it is impossible that any thing for never so small a time should hold out. Wherefore it behoveth him that hath the Government of any, to find out such things, as are fitting, and to enjoin them: as also him that is subject to the others Authority, to yield obedience to him without all excuses, and to use all diligence in the performing of the thing that is commanded.*

* Φύσει γὰρ ἀναγκαῖά τινα καὶ σωτήρια, τῷ μὲν, ἄρχειν ἐν ἀνθρώποις· τῷ δὲ, ἄρχεσθαι τέτακται καὶ ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν ἄνευ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁπῶν καὶ ὁποσονοῦν διαγενέσθαι. προσήκει τε τῷ μὲν ἐπιστατοῦντί τινος, ἐκφροντίζειν τε τὰ δέοντα καὶ ἐπιτάττειν· τῷ δὲ ὑποτεταγμένῳ πειθαρχεῖν ἀπροφασίστως· καὶ ἐκπονεῖν τὸ κελευόμενον. Dio. Hist. Roman. lib. 41.

And of the two, Whether the want of *Government* or the want of *Obedience* would prove more pernicious to a State, is a point that S. *Chrysostom* maketh very questionable: † *An Anarchy is an evil thing indeed*, saith he, *and the ground of the subversion of a State.*

† Κακὸν μὲν οὖν ἡ ἀναρχία καὶ ἀναδρόπης ὑπόθεσις· κακὸν δὲ οὐχ ἧττον καὶ ἡ ἀπείθεια τῶν ἀρχομένων· τὸ αὐτὸ γὰρ

But

But the disobedience of those that are under Government, is an evil no less than that: and bringeth the matter to the self same pass. For a People that doth not obey their Governour, is like unto a People that hath no Governour: and peradventure worse too. For there they have some excuse for their disorder; here they not only have none, but are punishable: and that both from God and from Man, as the same Father, in another place, doth thus express the matter, Subjection to the Higher Powers is a thing which **God hath ordained, and he is a sore punisher of those who make light thereof. No common penalty will be inflicted on thee if thou be disobedient, but an exceeding great one: and nothing shall exempt thee in this thy contradiction, but both thy punishment from men will be heavy, and none shall stand up in defence of thee, and thou wilt provoke God in an higher manner.* And *Photius* after him, † *Thou art a gainer by being a Subject; not only because thou*

γίνεται πάλιν λαὸς γὰρ ἄρχοντι μὴ πειθόμενος, ὅμοιός ἐστι τῷ μὴ ἔχοντι· τάχα δὲ καὶ χείρων· ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ συγνώμην ἔχουσιν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀταξίας· ἐνταῦθα δὲ οὐκέτι, ἀλλὰ καὶ κολάζονται. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Heb. Homil. 34.

* Καὶ γὰρ ὁ Θεὸς τοῦτο ἐνομοθέτησε καὶ σφοδρός ἐστι τιμωρὸς καταφρονουμένων τούτων· οὐ γὰρ τὴν τυχοῦσαν ἀπαιτήσει δίκην παρακούσαντα, ἀλλὰ καὶ σφόδρα μεγίστην· καὶ οὐδέν σε ἐξαιρήσεται ἀντιλέγοντα ἀλλὰ καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων ὑποστήσῃ τιμωρίαν χαλεπωτάτην, καὶ οὐδεὶς προστήσεται, καὶ τὸν Θεὸν παροξυνεῖς μειζόνως. Id. in Epist. ad Roman. Homil. 23.

† Κερδαίνεις κἀντεῦθεν ὑποτασσόμενος, οὐ μόνον ὅτι ἐν τολὴν πληροῖ, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τὴν

Θεὸν τιμᾶς, τιμῶν τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεταγμένην ἐξουσίαν καὶ τὴν ταύτην χειρίζοντα. Μακάριος ὁ οὕτως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα τὴν ἐξουσίαν τιμῶν καὶ ὑποτασσόμενος, ὥσπερ ἄθλιος ὁ διὰ ταῦτα μὴ ὑποκείμενος· καὶ γὰρ διπλοῦν ἀποφέρει κρίμα, πρῶτον ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τεταγμένην καὶ ὁρισθεῖσαν ἀρχὴν ἐξουθενεῖ· δεύτερον καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἠτιμασμένων ἀρχόντων. Phot. in cap. 13. ad Roman. apud Occumenium.

fulfilleſt the command; but alſo becauſe thou doſt honour God likewiſe whileſt thou honoureſt the Power ordained by him, and him into whoſe hand he hath committed it. Happy is he that in this manner and for theſe reſpects doth honour the Power, and ſubmit himſelf unto it: as miſerable on the other ſide he is, who for theſe regards will not be ſubject. For he muſt undergo a double judgment: the one from God, becauſe he doth contemn the Government ordained by him; the other from the Magiſtrates that are deſpiſed.

* Jude, v. 8, 11.

S. *Jude* ſpeaking of ſuch as did * *deſpiſe dominion, and ſpeak evil of dignities,* ſays that they *periſhed in the gainſaying of Core.* This *Core* (or *Korah*) was a Levite; who by his Office was to have

† Deut. 33. 10.

† *taught Jacob Gods judgments, and Iſrael his Law:* but he being one of thoſe

‖ Malach. 2. 8. ∴ Numb. 16. 1, 2, 3.

who ‖ *corrupted the covenant of Levi,* ∴ drew firſt three principal men of the Tribe of *Reuben,* and then *two hundred and fifty Princes of the Aſſembly (famous in the Congregation, men of renown)* into his confederacy; and having gathered his

his Aſſociates together againſt *Moſes* and *Aaron*, ſtuck not to affront them thus unto their faces, *Ye take too much upon you, ſeeing all the Congregation are holy every one of them, and the Lord is among them: Wherefore then lift you up your ſelves above the Congregation of the Lord?* as if they had * *taken this honour to themſelves*, and had not been *called of God* unto it. But by theſe mens ſtrange periſhing in this gainſaying of theirs, even Women did plainly ſee, that in oppoſing *Moſes* and *Aaron* after this manner, they oppoſed God himſelf, the ordainer of their Authority. For ſo the daughters of *Zelophehad* could ſay, † *Our Father died in the Wilderneſs, and he was not in the company of them that gathered themſelves together againſt the* LORD *in the company of Korah.* Nay the very words of the Spirit of God, concerning *Dathan* and *Abiram* are expreſs to this purpoſe, || *Theſe were famous in the Congregation, who ſtrove againſt* Moſes *and againſt* Aaron *in the company of* Korah, *when they ſtrove againſt the Lord. And* ∴ *the Earth opened her mouth, and ſwallowed them up together with* Korah *when that company died*;

* Heb. 5. 4.

† Numb. 27. 3.

|| Numb. 26. 9, 10.

∴ Pſal. 106. 17, 18. *Terraſtatim fauces ſuas in populi diviſores aperuit, & contemptores mandatorum Dei a-*

vido ore absorbuit. Intra momenti spatium ad transglutiendos prædictos terra patuit, rapuit, clausa est. Et nè beneficium de mortis compendio consequi viderentur, dum non essent digni vivere, iis nec mori concessum est: tartareo carcere subito clausi, ante sunt sepulti quam mortui. Optat. lib. 1. contra Parmenian.

died; what time the fire devoured two hundred and fifty men: and they became a sign.

A dreadful *sign* indeed unto all them which afterwards should follow their steps: to whom St. *Jude* saith is, * *reserved the blackness of darkness for ever.* For what other end may they expect, that dare adventure upon the like turbulent and seditious courses? The *Levite* begins the Faction; he by his false persuasions draws the Nobles after him: his main motive being this, that the Ruler assumeth too much unto himself, and invadeth the Peoples Rights and Liberties; others that will not run with them in that strain, being censured for Temporizers, and such as have mens persons in admiration because of advantage. And without all doubt this is that πρῶτον ψεῦδος wherewith the Father of Lies laboureth to work discontentment in the minds of Subjects, and to steal away their hearts from the willing performance of that duty which they owe unto their Governours; to put

* Jude, v. 13. with 2 Pet. 2. 10. 17.

put into their heads, that others give, and they take unto themſelves, a kind of a tranſcendent Power and Authority fitted for their own ends, which God never intended his People ſhould ſubject themſelves unto. Whereas no ſoul may exempt it ſelf from that expreſs declaration of his, * *Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God; and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation.* Upon which ground we may very well conclude here with *Gamaliel, If this Counſel, or this Ordinance, be of* GOD, *ye cannot overthrow it;* † *leſt happly ye be found even to fight againſt God:* like thoſe Giants, whom the Poets feign to have aſſaulted Heaven; from whoſe ſtock ‖ *Plato* is pleaſed to derive their Pedegree who ſhew themſelves adverſe unto the Magiſtrates. For ∴ *it is the pleaſure of God,* ſaith *Chryſoſtom, that the Magiſtrate, whom he hath ſtamped with his own Image, ſhould have alſo his own Power.* And * *he that obeyeth not him, maketh War in a ſort with God who hath appointed theſe things. Let*

* Rom. 13. 2.

† Μήποτε καὶ θεομάχοι εὑρεθῆτε. Act. 5. 36.

‖ *Noſter vero Plato Titanum è genere ſtatuit eos, qui, ut illi cœleſtibus, ſic hi adverſentur Magiſtratibus.* Cicero lib. 3. de Legib.

∴ Ὁ Θεὸς οὕτω βούλεται ἵνα ὁ ἄρχων ὁ παρ' αὐτοῦ τυπωθεὶς, τὴν οἰκείαν ἰσχὺν ἔχῃ. Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Rom. Serm. 23. (rom. 3. Edit. Savil. p. 192.)

* Ὁ μὴ ὑπακούων ἐκείνῳ, τῷ Θεῷ πολεμεῖ τῷ ταῦτα νομιθετήσαντι. Id. ib. p. 190.

* *us*

* Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμεῖς * τὴν τάξιν ἀναστρέφωμεν, μηδὲ τῷ Θεῷ πολεμῶμεν, τὸ ἔργον ἐπιδεικνύμενοι, ὅτι πᾶς ὁ ἀντιτασσόμενος τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διαταγῇ ἀνθέστηκεν. Id in Serm. 1. de David & Saul, tom. 8. p. 16.

* *us not therefore invert this order, nor fight with God; demonstrating by our deeds that saying of the Apostle, Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.*

Gregory *Nazianzen* telleth the Governour of his Province that † *together with Christ* he did *rule* the People and *administer* the Office committed to his charge: that *from him he had received the Sword*; and in that respect was to be accounted as *the image of God.* Which if it have place in a subordinate Magistrate, how much more in the Prince? from whom, under God, the Magistrate derives the Power which he hath. For so St. *Augustine* layeth it down in the case of *Pilate*, that ‖ *Cæsar was the Author of his Power*; ∴ *God indeed having given him a Power, but yet such a one as should be under the Power of Cæsar,* And therefore *Epiphanius*, when he had declared, that *in every Kingdom there*

† Χριστῷ συνάρχεις, Χριστῷ καὶ συνοικεῖς παρ' ἐκείνου σοὶ τὸ ξίφος, &c. εἰκὼν εἶ τοῦ Θεοῦ. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 17. ad cives timore perculsos.

‖ *Non sic potuit contemnere Cæsarem authorem potestatis suæ, quemadmodum legem gentis alienæ.* Aug. in Evang. Johan. tract. 116.

∴ *Talem quippe Pilato Deus dederat potestatem, ut etiam esset sub Cæsaris potestate.* Ib.

there are many Magistrates, but under one King; and proved out of the 13. to the *Romans*, that all *those Powers were ordained by God*; he thus then buildeth upon that foundation, **You see that this worldly Power is constituted by God, and from none but him hath received the Sword for punishment. And we may not say because there are Principalities and Powers in the World, that there is no King over them: but that there are indeed such Principalities and Powers in the World, and yet they have a King above them.* And upon this he infers, that these *Powers are not opposite to the King, but subordinate unto him, for the administration of the whole Kingdom, and the well ordering of the Land*: there being no greater disorder that can be brought into a Commonwealth, than the making of these *Subordinates* to be *Transcendents*, by giving them allowance to make head against their Head, upon any pretext whatsoever.

* Ὁρᾷς ὅτι ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτὴ ἡ κοσμικὴ ἐκ Θεοῦ τέτακται, καὶ μαχαίρας ἔλαβε τὴν ἐξουσίαν (οὐκ ἀλλαχόθεν δὲ πόθεν, ἀλλ' ἐκ Θεοῦ) εἰς ἐκδίκησιν· καὶ οὐ δυνάμεθα λέγειν, διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀρχὰς καὶ ἐξουσίας ἐν κόσμῳ, τὴν βασιλέα τούτων μὴ εἶναι βασιλέα· ἀλλὰ εἶναι τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὰς ἐξουσίας ἐν κόσμῳ, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τὴν τούτων βασιλέα· ὡς οὖν ἐστι γῆς ὁρῶμεν, δέδεικται οὐκ ἐναντίας τὰς ἀρχὰς τῷ βασιλεῖ, ἀλλ' ὑποτεταγμένας εἰς διοίκησιν παντὸς τοῦ βασιλείου, καὶ εἰς εὐταξίαν γῆς. Epiph. contra Archontic. hæres. 40.

Where the Word of God therefore would have us † *put in mind*, ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις

† Tit. 3. 1. with Rom. 13. 1, 5. and 1 Pet. 2. 13.

ἐξουσίαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, *to be ſubject to Principalities and Powers*; this ὑποταγὴ implieth in it a ſubordination and orderly ſubjection to every one in his own proper rank and ſeveral degree. Thus the *Centurion* acknowledgeth in the Goſpel, * that he was *a man ſet under authority*; yet ſo as he had alſo *Souldiers under him*, who were as obedient to his commands, as he was to the injunctions of his Superiours. *I ſay unto one, Go, and he goeth; and to another Come and he cometh; and to my ſervant, Do this, and he doth it.* For (as *Otho* ſpeaketh in *Tacitus*) † *the Authority of Generals and rigour of military diſcipline is of that nature, that many things muſt be ſimply enjoined by the Centurions and Colonels: If, when commands are given out, it be allowed to diſpute and queſtion the matter, Obedience failing, Government will fall to ground alſo.* Neither in the Camp alone, but in the Civil State likewiſe, this kind of ſubordination muſt neceſſarily be obſerved: this univerſal principle alſo being here fit to be taken into conſideration, ‖ *That by which every thing*

* Luke 7.8.

† *Ita ſe Ducum auctoritas, ſic rigor diſciplinæ habet, ut multa per Centuriones Tribunoſq; tantum juberi expediat. Si ubi jubeantur, quærere ſingulis liceat; pereunte obſequio, etiam imperium intercidit.* Tacit. Hiſtor. lib.

‖ Ἀεὶ γὰρ δι' ὃ ὑπάρχει ἕκαστον, ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον ὑπάρχει ὅτι, δι' ὃ φιλεῖται, ἐκεῖνο μᾶλλον φίλον. Ariſt. Analytic. Poſter. l. 1. c. 2.

thing is ſuch, muſt it ſelf much more be ſuch. Which is thus appliable to our particular; If we yield honour and obedience to our Magiſtrates, for that authority which we ſee the Prince hath been pleaſed to impart unto them; it ſtandeth with all reaſon that before and above all them the Prince himſelf ſhould be much more honored and obeyed. And if we are to ſubmit our ſelves to the ſubaltern and ſupreme Governor διὰ τὸν Κύριον, *for the Lord* (as we have heard out of * S. *Peter*) it will follow neceſſarily that the Lords own commands muſt in the firſt place be obſerved by us, whatſoever any Magiſtrate or King ſhall ſay to the contrary. Whereupon *Gregory Nazianzen* giveth this admonition to Courtiers and ſuch as were in high places of authority, † *Continue faithful to your Kings: but firſt of all to God; and for him to them alſo, unto whom you have been concredited and committed by him.*

* 1 Pet. 2. 13.

† Πιστοὶ μένετε τοῖς βασιλεῦσι· Θεῷ δὲ πρότερον, δι' ὃν καὶ τούτοις, οἷς ἐπιστεύθητε, καὶ οἷς παραδεδόθεσθε. Gregor. Nazianz. Orat. 27. quæ 12. eſt in Latina Jo. Lewenklavii edit. ubi Gregorii interpres, Elias Cretenſis Epiſc. *Nam propter Deum etiam illis ipſis fidi eritis quibus commiſſi à Deo, & ab eodem traditi eſtis. At qui propter Deum? quia ſi Deum metuetis & ſtudiosè dabitis operam ut ejus mandata ſervetis, fideles his etiam Dei cauſa eritis.*

For any man to * take upon him the admi-

* L. 4. C. de crim. ſacril.

administration of a publick Office without the Grant of the Prince; or yet to † crosſ the authority, or ‖ call in queſtion the worthineſs of that Officer which he is pleaſed to make choice of; is by the Imperial Law accounted a kind of *Sacriledge*. Now * *if we reverence and fear thoſe Magiſtrates that are elected by the King*, ſaith S. *Chryſoſtom*, *although they be wicked, although they be Theives, although they be Robbers, although they be unjuſt, or whatever they be; not deſpiſing them for their wickedneſs, but ſtanding in awe of them for the dignity of him that did elect them: much more ought we thus to do in the caſe of* God, and of the King choſen by him, how unworthily otherwiſe he may hap to prove. Neither may we omit here that gradation which St. *Auguſtine* maketh, for the illuſtration of that ſubordinate power whereof we have ſpoken: † *If thy Curator command thee any thing, muſt it not be done?* (yes queſtionleſs) *and yet if the Proconſul countermand* (and thou obey him) *thou deſpiſeſt*

† L. 5. C. de diverſ. reſcrip.
‖ L. 3. C. de crim. ſacrileg.

* Εἰ γὸ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τούτους τοὺς ὑπὸ βασιλέως χειροτονουμένους, κἂν πονηροὶ, κἂν κλέπται, κἂν λῃσταὶ, κἂν ὁπῶν ὧσιν ἕτεροι, δεδοίκαμεν καὶ πεφείκαμεν, ἃ διὰ τὴν πονηρίαν καταφρονοῦντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἀξίαν τῆς χειροτονήσαντος δυσωπούμενοι· πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τῶν θεῶν χρὴ τοῦτο ποιεῖν. Chryſ. Ser. 1. de Dav. & Saul.

† *Si aliquid juſſerit Curator, nonne faciendum eſt? Tamen ſi contra Proconſul jubeat, non utique comtemnis poteſtatem, ſed eligis majori ſervire. Nec hinc debet minor iraſci ſi major prælata eſt. Rurſum,*

ſpiſeſt not the Power of thy Curator, but ſerveſt a greater. Neither ought the leſſer to be angry if the greater be preferred before it. Again, if the Proconſul himſelf does command one thing, and the Emperour does command another; is there any doubt but that, contemning the one, we are to ſerve the other? Then if the Emperour does command one thing, and God another; what do you judge ſhould be done? Namely that which in another place he himſelf reſolveth, **As in the Powers of human ſociety the greater in point of obedience is preferred before the leſſer, ſo muſt God be before all.* Agreeable to the anſwer which *Socrates* made to the *Athenians*, †*I will obey God rather than you:* and *Peter* and *John* to the Rulers of the People and Elders of *Iſrael*, ‖*Whether it be right in the ſight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye:* And all the Apoſtles afterward, jointly and peremptorily, ∴*We ought to obey God rather than men:* concerning which

ſi aliquid ipſe Proconſul jubeat, & aliud jubeat Imperator, nunquid dubitatur illo contempto, illi eſſe ſerviendum? Ergo ſi aliud Imperator, & aliud Deus; quid judicatis? Auguſt. de verbis Dom. Serm. 6.

* *Sicut in poteſtatibus ſocietatis humanæ major poteſtas minori ad obediendum præponitur, ita Deus omnibus.* Id. lib. 3. Confeſſion. c. 8.

† Πείσομαι τῷ Θεῷ μᾶλλον ἢ ὑμῖν. Plato in Apol. Socratis.

‖ Act. 4. 19.

∴ Act. 5. 29.

thus *Bernard*, * *It is a very perverſe thing to profeſs thy ſelf to be obedient in that wherein thou art known to diſſolve a ſuperiour for an inferiour, that is, a divine for a human obedience. For what? The thing that man commandeth, God forbiddeth: and ſhall I hear man and turn the deaf ear to God? So did not the Apoſtles: for they cried out, ſaying, It is better to obey God than men.*

* *Valde perverſum eſt profiteri te obedientem, in quo noſceris ſuperiorem propter inferiorem, id eſt Divinam propter humanam, ſolvere obedientiam. Quid enim? Quod jubet homo, prohibet Deus: & ego audiam hominem, ſurdus Deo? Non ſic Apoſtoli: clamabant quippe dicentes, Melius eſt obedire Deo quam hominibus.* Bernar. Ep. 7.

Upon the ſame grounds alſo, if any man ſhall think that he hath received hard meaſure from the inferiour Magiſtrate, he may, without breach of obedience, appeal unto the Superiour: and if the Superiour right him not, he may ſeek relief from the Supreme. As we ſee in the caſe of S. *Paul*, who from the Provincial Governour † *was conſtrained to appeal unto Cæſar*, and ‖ *to be referred to his hearing*. But if it ſo fall out, that he who is our higheſt Judge upon earth will be ſo far from doing juſtice, that he himſelf ſhall do us open wrong; Reaſon it ſelf tells us that there may not be a *proceſſus ad infinitum*: and there-

† Act. 28. 19.
‖ Act. 25. 21.

therefore if our humble ſupplications cannot prevail with him to change his mind, there is nothing left, but that we * *commit* our ſelves and our cauſes to God *that judgeth righteouſly*. So *Athanaſius* in his Apology to the Emperour *Conſtantius*, † *If I had been accuſed before others*, ſaith he, *I would have appealed unto your Majeſty; as the Apoſtle appealed unto Cæſar, and his enemies Plots againſt him ceaſed. But ſeeing they have taken the boldneſs to calumniate me before thee, to whom ſhall I appeal from thee? but to the Father of him who ſaid*, I am the truth: *that he may incline thine heart unto gentleneſs.* And *Æneas Silvius*, ‖ *Although it be lawful to inform the Prince by way of ſupplication, and humbly to petition for the reſtitution of our right; yet we may not clamour, nor diſgrace or oppoſe him, if he perſiſt: foraſmuch as there is no man that may take cognizance of his temporal acts. That which the*

* 1 Pet. 2. 23. with Pſal. 37. 5, 6.

† Εἰ μὲ ἦν παρ' ἄλλοις ἡμῶν διαβληθεὶς, τῷ σῷ εὐσεβείαν ἐπεκαλέμην· ὡς ὁ Ἀπόστολος ἐπεκαλέσατο τότε τὸν Καίσαρα, καὶ πάντων ἦν ἐχθρῶν ἡ κατ' αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλή. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ παρὰ σοὶ τετολμήκασι κατηγορεῖν, πρὸς ἀπὸ σοῦ ἀπολογήσωμαι; ἢ πατέρα τὸν λέγοντα, Ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ἀλήθεια· ἵνα σὸν τὴν καρδίαν εἰς εὐμένειαν κλίνῃ. Athanaſ. Apolog.

‖ *Quamvis liceat tum per viam ſupplicationis informare, humiliterque petere reſtitutionem, non tamen reclamare licet, vituperare, vel impugnare, ſi perſeveret: cum nemo ſit qui de ſuis factis temporalibus poſcit cognoſcere. Tolerandum eſt patienter quod Princeps facit, quamvis inique, exſpectandaque eſt ſucceſſoris emendatio, vel ſuperni correctio Judicis, qui*

violentias atq; injurias non finit esse perpetuas. Æn. Silv. lib. de ortu & authorit. Imperii, cap. 16. Vide etiam ibid. cap. 21, & 23. de appellationibus ab Imperatoris sententia non admittendis.

Prince doth, although unjustly, we are patiently to tolerate; and either to expect amends from his Successor, or else the correction of the heavenly Judge, who doth not suffer violences and injuries to be perpetual. Such an appeal as this did *David* use in his parly with *Saul* when he so eagerly sought after his life without a cause, and God had delivered him into his hand, that he might have done to him what he pleased: **The Lord judge between me and thee, and the Lord avenge me of thee: but mine hand shall not be upon thee. (As saith the Proverb of the Ancients, Wickedness proceedeth from the Wicked; but mine hand shall not be upon thee.) After whom is the King of* Israel *come out? after whom dost thou pursue? after a dead Dog, after a Flea. The Lord therefore be judge, and judge between me and thee; and see, and plead my cause, and deliver me out of thine hand.* And when he had fallen into his danger the second time, †*The Lord render to every man his righteousness and his faithfulness: for the Lord delivered thee into my hand to day, but I would not stretch forth mine hand against the Lords Anointed:*

* 1 Sam. 24. 12, 13, &c.

† 1 Sam. 26. 23, 24.

ted. And behold as thy life was much ſet by this day in mine eyes, ſo let my life be much ſet by in the eyes of the Lord, and let him deliver me out of all tribulation. Hereupon the Author of the Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament (in the fourth Tome of S. *Auguſtin*'s Works) demandeth, * *for what reaſon* David *did call* Saul the Lords Anointed, *and did honour unto him after that God had departed from him?* and maketh anſwer, *that* David *being not ignorant that there was a Divine Ordinance in the Office of a State Regal, did therefore honour* Saul, *who as yet had the priviledge of that Ordinance; leſt he might ſeem to offer injury unto God, who had decreed honour to be given to thoſe of this rank.* Optatus brings *David* in, thus ſpeaking, while he had his enemy at ſo great an advantage, †*Victory, thou provokeſt me without cauſe: in vain, Occaſion, thou inviteſt me to triumph. 'Tis true I had a deſire indeed to overcome my enemy:*

* *Qua ratione David Saul, poſtquam Deus ab eo receſſit, Chriſtum Domini vocat, & honorem defert ei? Non neſcius David Divinam eſſe traditionem in officio ordinis Regalis, idcirco Saul in eadem adhuc traditione poſitum honorificat; ne Deo injuriam facere videretur, qui his ordinibus honorem dicrevit.* Quæſt. 35. ex Vet. & Nov. Teſt.

† *Sine cauſa me, victoria, provocas: fruſtra me, occaſio, in triumphos invitas. Volebam hoſtem vincere: ſed prius eſt Divina præcepta ſervare. Non, inquit, mittam manus in unctum Domini. Repreſſit cum gladio manum: & dum timuit olcum, ſervavit inimicum.* Optat. lib. 2. contra Parmenian.

but chiefly I must look to the keeping of Gods commandments. I will not stretch forth mine hand against the Lords Anointed. Upon this he drew back his hand and sword (saith Optatus) *and whilest he reverenced his anointing, spared his enemy.* Such another Speech does *Basil* of *Seleucia* attribute unto him, **God hath delivered up mine enemy unto me: but I will not stain the gift with slaughter, I will not pollute the favour with blood. Let him seek after me again, let him persecute me. It is better to suffer than to kill. And if he again persecute me, we have resolved to fly: although he persecute me, God cannot be persecuted.* And *Chrysostom.* †*He is wicked, you will say, exceeding wicked, full of innumerable vices, and bent against us with all extremity. True; but he is a King, a Prince, one to whose hands the Government of us is committed. Nor yet doth he say,* King; *but what? that he is* The Lords Anointed; *thereby making him venerable, not*

* Παρέδωκε τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑβρίζω τὸ δῶρον τῷ φόνῳ, οὐ μολύνω τὴν χάριν τοῖς αἵμασι· Ζητείτω πάλιν καὶ διωκέτω· τὸ φονεύειν τοῦ ὑπομένειν λιποτελέστερον· κἂν πάλιν διώκῃ τὸ φεύγειν μεμελετήκαμεν· κἂν διώκῃ, Θεὸς οὐκ οἶδε διώκεσθαι. Basil. Sel. Orat. 16. five in David. Serm. 4.

† Τί λέγεις; ὅτι μαθὼν καὶ παμμίαρον καὶ μυρίων γέμων κακῶν, καὶ τὰ ἔσχατα ἡμᾶς διαθεὶς; ἀλλὰ βάσκανος, ἀλλὰ ἄρχων, ἀλλὰ τῶν θερμοτάτην ἡμῖν πεπιστευμένος· καὶ οὐκ εἶπε, βασιλεύς· ἀλλὰ τί; ὅτι Χριστὸς Κυρίου ἐστὶν οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κράτους τιμῶν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄνωθεν ἥκειν ποιήσας αἰδέσιμον. Καταφρονεῖς τὸν συνδοῦλον, φησίν; αἰδέσθητι τὸν δεσπότην· διαβάλλεις τὸν χειροτονηθέντα; φοβήθητι τὸν χειροτονήσαντα. Chrys. Serm. 1. de David & Saul.

not

not from the honour he had here below, but from the approbation which he had from above: as if he ſhould have ſaid, Doſt thou deſpiſe thy fellow-ſervant? yet reverence thy Lord. Doſt thou make light of him who is choſen? yet fear him by whom he was choſen.

To this Election of his the *Gibeonites* alſo had reſpect, even when they ſought for a revenge of that bloudy act which he had committed againſt their houſe: * *The man that conſumed us, and that deviſed againſt us that we ſhould be deſtroyed from remaining in any of the coaſts of* Iſrael; *let ſeven men of his ſons be delivered unto us, and we will hang them up unto the Lord in* Gibeah *of* Saul, *whom* THE LORD DID CHOOSE. Wherewith we may compare that part of the Sacred Hiſtory wherein the firſt publick inauguration of *Saul* is thus laid down; † *And* Samuel *ſaid to all the People, See ye him whom* THE LORD HATH CHOSEN, *that there is none like him among all the People? And all the People ſhouted, and ſaid,* GOD SAVE THE KING. *Then* Samuel *told the People the manner of the Kingdom, and wrote it in a Book, and laid it up before the Lord: and* Samuel *ſent*

* 2 Sam. 21. 5, 6.

† 2 Sam. 10. 24, 25, &c.

all the People away every man to his houſe. Ad Saul *alſo went home to* Gibeah: *and there went with him a band of men, whoſe hearts God had touched. But the children of* BELIAL *ſaid, How ſhall this man ſave us? and they deſpiſed him.* Wherein it is a thing very conſiderable, that *Samuel* was not more careful to ſee the rights of the Crown entered into a Book and laid up before the Lord, than the Lord himſelf was provident, to record the different affections of theſe men toward their King in his own Book; * *that it might be for the latter day* (or, *the time to come*) for ever and ever.

* Iſa. 30. 8.

Some *deſpiſed* him in their hearts, and *diſgraced* him in their words, ſaying, *How ſhall this man ſave us?* which is interpreted, as if they had ſpoken in plain terms, † *Shall* Saul *reign over us?* and theſe are cenſured by the Holy Ghoſt to be *children of* Belial, that is, *men without yoke*, or *naughty perſons.* For ‖ *the worſt* of men, as one well noteth, do of all others, *with moſt repugnancy admit a Governour.* Which induced the *Roman* Judges in the caſe of him who was found to have neglected

† 1 Sam. 11. 12.

‖ *Peſſimus quiſque aſperrime rectorem patitur.* Salluſt. Orat. 1. de Republ. ordinanda, ad C. Cæſarem.

gleƈted the reſpeƈt due to *Sevilius Iſauricus*, eaſily to * *believe that he who knew not to reverence the prime men of State, would run without ſcruple into any diſorder whatſoever.* Whereof that exceſs of filthineſs and riot, wherewith † St. *Peter* and ‖ St. *Jude* do charge thoſe *preſumptuous* perſons who *deſpiſed dominion*, and *ſpake evil of dignities*, may ſerve for a ſufficient demonſtration.

* *Eum qui venerari principes neſciret, in quodlibit facinus procurſurum credidere-runt.* Val. Max. l. 8. c. 5.

† 2 Pet. 2. 10.

‖ Jude, v. 6.

Thus *Sheba* the ſon of *Bichri*, who firſt attempted the drawing of the Cities of *Iſrael* to revolt from *David* their King, is by Gods Spirit branded in the forehead with this note of being * *a man of* Belial: and they who afterwards gathered themſelves unto *Jeroboam the Son of Nebat*, and (with a ſucceſs anſwerable unto their deſigns) *ſtrengthened themſelves againſt Rehoboam* (*Davids* Grandchild) *when he was young and tender-hearted, and could not withſtand them*, are ſtiled by King *Abiah*, † *vain men, the children of* Belial: which in effeƈt is as much as if it had been ſaid, that they were of their ‖ *Father the Devil*; if St. *Pauls* application of the word may be admitted, in that queſtion of his,

* 2 Sam. 20. 1.

† 2 Chr. 13. 7.

‖ Joſh. 8. 44.

* *What*

* 1 Cor. 6.15. * *What concord hath Christ with Belial?* And surely if they who honoured their † 1 Sam. 10. 26. King, had their † *hearts touched by God*, (as we have heard) such as bend their endeavours another way, should do well to lay their hand upon their heart, and consider with fear and trembling, whether they find not there some touch ‖ Ephes. 2. 2. of ‖ *the spirit that worketh in the children of disobedience.*

But to return to *Saul*: The only motive we see, that restrained *David* from stretching his hand against him, was this consideration, that he was * 1 Sam. 24. 6, 10. & 26. 11, 23. * *the anointed of the Lord.* Which left any should think to have proceeded, not so much out of the staidness of his judgment, as out of the facility of his disposition, he peremptorily doth thus lay down the resolution of the point † 1 Sam. 26. 9. in the general, † *Who can stretch forth his hand against the Lords Anointed, and be guiltless?* And maketh this the ground of that sentence of death which he pronounced after upon the *Amalekite*, who took the killing of *Saul* upon himself, *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand, to destroy the Lords Anointed? Thy blood be upon thy*

‖ 2 Sam. 1. 14, 16. *Et cum compleret observantiam, vindicavit occisum.* Optat. l. 2. contra Parmen.

thy head: for thy mouth hath teſtified againſt thee, ſaying, I have ſlain the Lords Anointed.

And this indeed muſt be made the main foundation, not only of the obſervance, but alſo of all the other branches of that Allegiance which we do owe unto our Prince: that with the right which he hath obtained by Election ar Succeſſion here below, we be careful to conjoin that unction and ordination which he hath received from above. Both which, in this preſent caſe of *Saul*, are by *Samuel* thus linked together, * *Behold the King whom ye have choſen, and whom ye have deſired: And behold the Lord hath ſet a King over you.* So †GOD *choſe* Solomon, *and all the Congregation made him King, and anointed him to the Lord to be the chief Governour:* whereupon enſued that obedience both of the Commons and the great ones, which in the Scripture is thus expreſſed, ‖ *Then* Solomon *ſate on the Throne of the* LORD *as King inſtead of* David *his Father and proſpered, and all* Iſrael *obeyed him:* and *all the Princes and the mighty men, and all the Sons likewiſe of King* David, *ſubmitted themſelves unto* Solomon *the King*; or, as

* 1 Sam. 12. 13.

† 1 Chron. 29. 1, 20. 22.

‖ 1 Chron. 29. 23, 24.

as the Hebrew hath it, *gave the hand under him.* For the Kingdom being *Gods* own, and * *by him given to whomſoever he will*; it will follow, that unto our † *Prince, who beareth the place of God, we are to be ſubject as unto God himſelf:* as by the Author of the Commentaries upon St. *Pauls* Epiſtles, attributed to St. *Ambroſe*, is well obſerved.

* Dan. 4. 17. 25. 32.

† *Principi ſuo, qui vicem Dei agit: ſicut dicit Danieli propheta, Dei eſt enim, inquit, regnum; & cui vult dabit illud. Unde & Dominus, Reddite, ait, quæ ſunt Cæſaris, Cæſari. Huic ergo ſubjiciendi ſunt, ſicut Deo.* Ambroſ. in Rom. 13.

Neither is it for nothing, that we find in the Scripture *God* and the *King* ſo neerly joined together: once indeed in two ſeveral ſentences, † *Fear God, Honour the King*; but more ordinarily in the ſelf-ſame period; with one verb relating to them both. So for that former point of *Fear*; we are elſewhere required, to ‖ *fear the Lord and the King:* and for the other of *Honour*; we read, that all the Congregation * *worſhipped the Lord, and the King.* As for the contrary likewiſe, in the Propheſie of *Iſaiah*, † *They ſhall curſe their King and their God:* and in the falſe accuſation contrived againſt

† 1 Pet. 2. 17.

‖ Prov. 24. 21. where the LXX read, *Fear*, (or as it is cited in the Epiſtle of Ignatius and Smyrnenſ. and by Theophilus Antiochus lib. 1. ad Autolyc. *Honour*) *God and the King, and to neither of them be thou diſobedient.*

* 1 Chron. 29. 20.

† Iſa. 8. 21.

againſt *Naboth*, **Thou didſt blaſpheme God and the King:* as if the honour or diſhonour of the one were folded up and involved with the reſpect or diſreſpect of the other. Whereunto it were not much amiſs, this alſo ſhould be added; that the perſon of the King hath heretofore been accounted ſo *ſacred*, that the Crimes committed againſt him are in the Civil Law parallelled with that which ſtriketh at God himſelf immediately, I mean *Sacriledge*. So in the places before quoted out of *Juſtinians* Code, A man may not aſſume an Office, not granted unto him by the Prince, *ſine Sacrilegii crimine*: and to oppoſe the Officers placed by him, *Sacrilegii inſtar eſt*. By the ſame Law, † *He that reſiſteth the Princes Reſcript, is to be puniſhed as a Sacrilegious perſon:* and ‖ *Treaſon* is accounted *a crime next unto Sacriledge* (that is, the immediate violation of Gods own Majeſty:) as by the *Greeks* it is eſteemed not a whit worſe, who uſe no other term for the expreſſion of Treaſon againſt the Prince, but **ἀσέβεια impiety*, and

* 1 King. 21. 10, 13.

† Ὁ οἱαδήποτε ἁμαρτωδὴς βασιλικῇ ἀντιγραφῇ, ὡς ἱερόσυλος τιμωρείσθω, Eclog. Baſilic. 2. tit. 5. c. 23, 24.

‖ *Proximum Sacrilegio crimen eſt, quod Majeſtatis dicitur.* l. 1. D. ad leg. Jul. Majeſt.

* Dio Hiſt. Rom. lib. 59. de C. Caligula, τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐγκλήματα πεύσας. & poſt, τὰ τῆς ἀσεβείας ἐγ-

† κλ. διώσεως

κλήματα ἐπαναγαγὼν, εἰς στήλην αὖθις ἐγγραφῆναι ἐκέλευσε. & lib.60.de Claudio. τὸ ἔγκλημα τῆς ἀσεβείας οὐκ ἐν τοῖς γράμμασι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πράξεσιν ἔπαυσε.

† καθοσίωσις, which *Eustathius* expounds ‖ *an opposing ones self against Kings who are consecrated unto God*; παρὰ τὸ κατὰ τοῦ ὁσίου γίνεσθαι, ἤτοι τοῦ βασιλέως, *because it is committed against a sacred person, that is, against the King*, saith *Suidas*. And * *what is greater* (saith *Justinian*) *what more sacred than Imperial Majesty? or who is puffed up with such a height of pride that he should contemn the Kings sentence?*

† Philoxen. Glossar. ab H. Stephano edit. *Majestatis crimen* καθοσιώσεως ἔγκλημα. Glossar. Juris à Car. Labbæo edit. τὸ περὶ καθοσιώσεως τὸ περὶ προδοσίας καὶ ἐπιβουλῆς βασιλέως. Eclog. Basilic. lib. 60. tit. 36. c. 12. Σβέννυνται τὰ ἐγκλήματα τῇ τελευτῇ τοῦ κατηγορουμένου, χωρὶς τοῦ περὶ καθοσιώσεως, ἀπὸ τοῦ κεφαλαίου τῆς προδοσίας καὶ τῆς κατὰ βασιλέως ἐπιβουλῆς. Vide ejusd. citat. cap. 17, & 20. & tit. 50. ejusd. libr. c.9. Item Socrat. l.5. Hist.Eccl. c.14. de Symmacho & Suid. in Καθοσίωσις. ‖ Ἀντίθεσις κατὰ τῶν ὁσίων τῷ Θεῷ βασιλέων. Eustath. in Iliad. 3. (p. 647. ed. Rom.) * *Quid majus, quid sanctius Imperiali est Majestate? vel quis tantæ superbiæ fastidio* (an *fastigio* potius?) *tumidus est, ut regalem sensum contemnat?* l.12. Cod. de leg. & constitut. Princip.

From hence also it is, that others have held it * *unfit for any so much as to pass their judgments upon Princes* and their affairs. *In the very entrance* (saith *Nazianzen*) *that veneration which accompanies their Majesty, presents it self, and repels busie Inquirers: and if any*

* *Existimare quidem de Principibus nemini fas est. Nam & in vestibulo suo inquirentem repellit objecta veneratio; & si qui propius adierunt, quod oculis in Solem se contendentibus evenit, præstricta acie, videndi facultate caruerunt.* Nazar. Paneg. dict. Const. Imp.

any have drawn nearer, the ſame hath befallen them which hath done thoſe who earneſtly bend their eyes towards the Sun; their ſight is dazled, and they loſe the faculty of ſeeing. To this purpoſe M. *Terentius* in his Speech to the Emperour *Tiberius*, touching the advancement of *Sejanus*, * *To us it belongs not to examine whom you advance above others, or upon what conſiderations. The ſole and ſupreme diſpoſal of things God hath given you: to us left nothing but the honour of our obedience.* Which honour or glory of obedience, ſeeing, it appeareth † *moſt in that which a man hath leaſt mind to do,* (as *Pliny* obſerveth in his Panegyrick unto *Trajan*) the ready way to attain thereunto, is to frame our wills to the chearful performance of that duty which we owe unto our Governours: according to that of *Seneca,* || *He who doth that willingly which he is commanded, eſcapes the moſt irkſome thing that is in Service; which is to do that which he would*

* *Non eſt noſtrum eſtimare, quem ſupra cæteros, & quibus de cauſis extollas. Tibi ſummum rerum judicium Dii dedere; nobis obſequii gloria relicta eſt.* Tacit. Annal. lib. 6. Where for that obſervable term of the *glory* of obedience, a like parallel may be noted in *Plinies* Panegyrick to *Trajan*, ſpeaking of the Empreſs his Wife, *Uxori ſufficit obſequii gloria.*

† *Major eſt obſequii gloria in eo quod quis minus velit.* Plin. Panegyr.

|| *Qui imperia libens excipit, partem acerbiſſimam ſervitutis effugit, facere quod nolit. Non qui juſſus aliquid facit, miſer eſt: ſed qui invitus facit.* Senec. Epiſt. 61.

not

not do. Not him who being commanded doth a thing, can we call miserable; but him who doth unwillingly what is commanded him.

We read that when the Souldiers cried out unto *Valentinian* the Elder, whom they had newly elected Emperour, that he should take to himself an *associate; he made this answer unto them, † *It lay in you to chuse me your Governour: but now you have chosen me, what you desire is not in your own power, but in mine. It belongs to you, as Subjects, to be quiet and rest contented; and to me, as your King, to consider what is fit to be done.* And for the general duty of obedience to Kings, we find the testimonies of Gods Word gathered together by the Archbishops and Bishops of *France* assembled in a National Synod, held at *Paris* in the year of our Lord DCCCXXIX under this title, || *That all Subjects ought humbly and faithfully to obey the Regal Power, as being ordained by none but God:* the last whereof, taken out of *Jer.* 29.

* *Quantulum refert deponas, an partiaris imperium? nisi quod difficilius hoc est.* Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

† Τὸ μὲν ἑλέσθαι με ἄρχειν ὑμῶν ὦ ἄνδρες στρατιῶται, ἐν ὑμῖν ἦν· ἐπεὶ δὲ εἵλεσθε, ὃ νῦν αἰτεῖτε, οὐκ ἐν ὑμῖν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἐμοί· καὶ χρὴ τοὺς μὲν ἀρχομένους ὑμᾶς ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἐμὲ δὲ ὡς βασιλέα τὰ πρακτέα σκοπεῖν. Sozomen. hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 6.

|| *Quod potestati Regali, quæ non nisi à Deo ordinata est, humiliter atque fideliter cuncti parere debeant subjecti.* Conc. Paris. VI. l. 2. c. 8. (tom. 2. Conc. Gall. p. 533.)

29. 7. is thus by them enforced, * *If Jeremy the Prophet of God admoniſhed them to pray for the life of Nebuchodonoſor an Idolatrous King; how much more ought humble ſupplications to be made by all ſorts of men for the ſafety of Chriſtian Kings?* Which *Optatus* delivered long before them out of 1 *Tim.* 2. 1, 2. † *Deſervedly doth* Paul *teach that we ſhould pray for Kings and thoſe that are in Authority, although the Emperour were ſuch as did live* rather *like a Pagan* than a *Chriſtian*: and *Chryſoſtom*, out of Rom. 13. 7. ‖ *If he preſcribed theſe things, the Governors being at that time Infidels; much more ought this to be done under thoſe who have received the Faith.* All which, by juſt Analogy, may be deduced out of that rule which the Apoſtle layeth down, in 1 *Tim.* 6. 1, 2. *Let as many ſervants as are under the yoke, count their own Maſters worthy of all honour; that the name of God and his Doctrine be not*

* *Sic* (leg. *Si*) *Hieremias propheta Dei pro vita idololatræ Regis Nebuchodonoſor orare admonet; quanto magis pro ſalute Chriſtianorum Regum ab omnibus ordinibus Deo eſt humiliter ſupplicandum?* Ibid. pag. 534.

† *Merito Paulus docet, orandum eſſe pro Regibus & poteſtatibus: etiamſi talis eſſet Imperator qui gentiliter viveret.* Optat. l. 3. cont. Parmenian.

‖ Εἰ γὰρ Ἑλλήνων ὄντων τότε καὶ ἀρχόντων ταῦτα ἐνομοθέτησε, πολλῷ μᾶλλον νῦν ἐπὶ καὶ πιστῶν ταῦτα χρή. Chryſoſt. in Epiſt. ad Rom. Serm. 23.

O bla-

blasphemed. And they that have believing Masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren: but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit.

For the farther declaration whereof, we may observe;

First, *A Houshold is a kind of a little Common-wealth, and a Common-wealth a great Houshold:* as is observed both by * *Aristotle* in his Politicks, and by *Eustathius* upon that Verse of *Homer*,

† Αὐτὰρ ἐγὼν οἴκοιο ἄναξ ἔσομ' ἡμετέροιο.

And therefore what in the one a Husband, a Father, and a Master may expect from those who have such relations to him; the like, by due proportion, is to have place in the other. For || *that which the Apostle speaketh of the Master and the Servant, is to be understood likewise of Powers, and Kings, and of all the high Estates of this World,* saith St. *Augustine.*

Second-

* Ὥσπερ γὰρ ἡ οἰκονομικὴ βασιλεία τις οἰκείας ἐστὶν, οὕτως ἡ βασίλεία πόλεος, καὶ ἔθνους ἑνὸς ἢ πλείονος, οἰκονομία. Aristot. Polit. l. 3. c. 11. & in Stobæi. Eclogis Ethicis (p. 195. Edit. Plantin.) Μικρὰ γὰρ τις ἔοικεν εἶναι πόλις, ὁ οἶκος.

† Hom. Odyss. α. vers. 397. ad quem Eustathius. Ὅρα δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐν Ἰλιάδι, οὕτω καὶ ὧδε ἀνάκτα τὴν οἰκοδεσπότην λέγει σεμνῶς διὰ τὸ δοκεῖν τὴν οἶκον πόλιν εἶναι μιρὰν. ὥσπερ ἂν πάλιν τὴν πόλιν, οἶκον μέγαν.

|| *Quod dixit de domino & servo, hoc intelligite de potestatibus & Regibus, & de omnibus culminibus hujus seculi.* August. in Psal. 124.

Secondly, That as S. *Paul* elſewhere adviſeth Chriſtian Servants to carry themſelves as they ought to do toward their Maſters, * *That they might adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour in all things:* ſo in this place he diſſuadeth them from the contrary upon the ſame ground, *that the name of God and his Doctrine be not blaſphemed*; as in that other place alſo he requires Wives to be mindful of the duty they owe unto their Husbands, † *that the Word of God might not be blaſphemed.* Which S. *Peter* doth thus forcibly preſs for that ſubjection which Chriſtian Subjects owe to their Kings and Governors; ‖ *For ſo is the Will of God,* ſaith he, *that with well-doing ye may put to ſilence the ignorance of fooliſh men.* And why *fooliſh?* becauſe there cannot be imagined a greater folly than to charge the *Profeſſion* it ſelf, or the Doctrine of God, which utterly condemneth theſe diſorders, with the contrary practice of the *Profeſſors.* Which cavil yet the Apoſtle would have us really confute by our good behaviour: and ſo either ſtop the mouths of theſe Fools altogether; or if they will needs open them, make them to do it with ſhame enough: * *that whereas they ſpeak evil of us, as of*

* Tit. 2. 10.

† Tit. 2. 5.

‖ 1 Pet. 2. 15.

* 1 Pet. 3. 16.

evil-doers, they may be ashamed that falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ.

Thirdly, that how unworthy soever Masters (and by the same reason Parents and Magistrates) be otherwise in respect of their personal defects; yet such as God hath placed under their authority, are to *count them worthy* not only *of honour, but also of all honour:* we being not herein so much to look unto their persons as unto the Ordinance of God, who hath placed them over us; and wisely to consider, that in respect of that dignity and power received from above, not of their personal vertues, all this honour is due unto them, * *Although he be a contemner of the Laws and a wicked man, yet is he a Father notwithstanding,* saith *Justinian:* and † *the person of the Father,* saith *Ulpian, ought always to be accounted honourable and sacred to the Child.* So for other Governments: ‖ *He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.* For *what kind of men those ought to be that do command, it is not to be discussed by their Subjects,* saith

* Εἰ γὰρ καὶ νόμων ὑπερόπτας εἴη καὶ ἀσεβὴς, ἀλλὰ πατὴρ ὅμως ἐστί. Justin. Novel. 12.

† *Liberto & filio semper honesta & sancta persona patris ac patroni videri debet.* l. Liberto. D. de obsequ. parent. & patron. præst.

‖ *Qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Quales enim esse debeant hi qui imperant non est à subditis discutiendum.* Lib. de conflictu Vitior. & Virtut. c. 5. (tomo 9. oper. Augustin.)

ſaith the Author of the Book of the Conflict betwixt Vices and Vertues. For **whether the Power be good or bad, ſaith Haymo, whoſoever doth reſiſt it (by withdrawing his Service from it, by denying tribute, and not giving unto it that honour which he ought to give) reſiſteth the Ordinance and diſpoſition of God, by whoſe appointment they bear Rule.* And thus even among the Heathen, *Marcellus* (in *Tacitus*) profeſſeth that he † *pray'd and wiſh'd indeed for good Princes*; but would tolerate them whatſoever they were: and *Petilius Cerealis* (in the ſame Author) uſeth the like perſuaſion unto others, ‖ *As you endure ſometimes barrenneſs and drought, and ſometimes immoderate rain, and ſuch other inconveniencies of Nature, ſo tolerate the riotous life and avarice of your Governors. As long as men are, faults will be. The comfort is, they are not continual, and are countervailed by the intervention of better things.*

* *Sive bona ſit illa poteſtas, ſeu mala, quicunque ei reſiſtit (ſubtrahendo ſervitium ab ea, denegando tributum, & honorem non prebendo quem ei debet præbere) Dei ordinationi reſiſtit & diſpoſitioni, cujus ordinatione iſti principantur.* Haymo in Rom. 13.

† *Bonos Imperatores voto expetere, qualeſcunque tolerare.* Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 4.

‖ *Quomodo ſterilitatem aut nimios imbres, & cætera naturæ mala; ita luxum, vel avaritiam dominantium tolerate. Vitia erunt, donec homines: ſed neque hæc continua; & meliorum interventu penſantur.* Ib. ibid.

Fourthly, That difference of Religion

ligion doth make no whit leſs due this Honour to our Superiours, for, not in regard of their Religion do we owe it to them, but of their dignity, and the power God hath given them over us.

And * *hence it is* (ſaith the Author of the Queſtions upon the Old and New Teſtament, (thought to be the *Roman* Deacon *Hilary*) *that we give honour unto a Pagan, if placed in Authority; although he be in himſelf moſt unworthy of it, who holding Gods place, gives the Devil thanks for it: but the honour we give to him, his Place challengeth.*

* *Hinc eſt ut gentilem in poteſtate tamen poſitum honorificemus; licet ipſe indignus ſit, qui Dei ordinem tenens, gratias agit Diabolo. Poteſtas enim exigit, quia meretur honorem.* Quæſt. 25. ex vet. & Nov. Teſt. (tomo. 4. oper. Auguſt.)

Laſtly, That S. *Paul* in this place with *Honour* doth couple *Service* as the moſt conſiderable part thereof. Which maketh him elſewhere † out of the Commandment, *Honour thy Father and Mother*, to infer this duty of Obedience, *Children obey your Parents in the Lord: for it is right.*

† Eph. 6.1,2.

And yet, || *as nothing could be ſpoken ſo abſurdly which was not maintained by ſome of the Philoſophers*; ſo wanted there not ſome of them, who endeavoured to over-

|| *Nihil tam abſurde dici poteſt, quod non dicatur ab aliquo Philoſophorum.* Cicer. lib. 2. de Divinat.

overthrow this ſo great a right (and ſo deeply founded in the Law of God, and the light of Nature) with this poor and ſilly Sophiſm, * *Either the Father doth command that which is right, or that which is wrong. If he command that which is right; it is to be obeyed, not becauſe he commandeth it, but becauſe Juſtice requires it ſhould be done: if what is wrong, ſurely becauſe wrong it ought not to be done. And therefore the Father is not to be obeyed in any thing which he commandeth.* To this † frivolous and vain argumentation (which taketh away all obedience as well in Church and Commonwealth as in private Familes) *A. Gellius* makes anſwer, that ‖ this Propoſition, *Either the things which a Father commandeth are good or bad*, is imperfect; there wanting the third member in the disjunction, which compriſeth ſuch things as in themſelves are *neither good nor bad*, but of a * *middle and indifferent* nature. Of this diviſion tripartite thus *Bernard* clearly and ſignifi-

* *Aut rectè, inquiunt, imperat pater, aut perperam. Si rectè imperat; non quia imperat parendum, ſed quoniam id fieri jus eſt, faciendum eſt: ſi perperam; nequaquam ſcilicet faciendum, quod fieri non oportet. Nusquam igitur eſt patri parendum quæ imperat.* A. Gell. l. 2. c. 7.

† *Argutiola quippe hæc frivola & inanis eſt.* Ibid.

‖ *Non integra eſt propoſitio dicenda, Aut honeſta ſunt quæ imperat pater, aut turpia. Neque ὑγιὲς νόμισον διεζευγμένον videri poteſt; deeſt enim disjunctioni iſti tertium, Aut neque honeſta ſunt, neque turpia.*

* *Quæ in medio ſunt, & à Græcis tum ἀδιάφορα tum μέσα appellantur.* Ibid.

cantly, * *Some things are purely good, ſome purely evil. In theſe no obedience is due unto men: foraſmuch as the former are not to be omitted although they ſhould be forbidden, nor the latter committed although they ſhould be commanded. But between theſe there are certain middle things, which, in reſpect of the manner, place, time, or perſon, may be both good and evil. In theſe the Law of Obedience takes place, as it were in the tree of knowledge of good, and evil, which was in the midſt of Paradiſe. And in things of this kind it is not lawful for us to prefer our own minds before the pleaſure of our Maſters.*

So that if any man will be ſo perverſe as to call in queſtion the Power whch his Superiour hath to command in things of this *middle* and *indifferent* nature; you ſee how eaſily he may be perſuaded to ſhake hands with thoſe Libertines, who hold themſelves not bound to give obedience to the commandments of man in any thing. Whereas men of ſound judgment have always been of the mind, that the Authority of

* *Sant hoc advertendum quod quædam ſunt pura bona, quædam pura mala: & in his nullam deberi hominibus obedientiam; quoniam nec illa omittenda ſunt etiam cum prohibentur, nec iſta vel cum jubentur committenda. Porro inter hæc ſunt media quædam, quæ pro modo, loco, tempore, vel perſona, & mala poſſunt eſſe & bona: Et in his lex poſita eſt obedientiæ, tanquam in ligno ſcientiæ boni & mali, quod erat in medio Paradiſi. In his profectò fas non eſt noſtrum ſenſum ſententiæ præſcribere Magiſtrorum.* Bernard. Ep. 7.

of ſuch as God hath placed over us ſhould be eſteemed ſo unviolable, that unleſs the thing by them commanded did certainly and evidently appear to be unlawful, we ought to yield obedience thereunto; and not to ſuſpend or defer the doing thereof upon every idle ſcruple that may come into our heads, much leſs do otherwiſe than we are commanded, becauſe we imagine we have better reaſon to lead us otherwiſe. And therefore when *Craſſus*, having occaſion to make a Ram for the battery of the Walls of a certain Town in *Aſia*, gave order that of two beams, which he had ſeen, the greater ſhould be ſent to him; and the Maſter of the Works ſent the ſmaller, as in his opinion more fit for the uſe intended, and much more eaſie for carriage; he cauſed the Fellow to be ſoundly whipped for his labour, as well * *knowing that all power of command would be extinguiſhed, if men ſhould be permitted to ſatisfie what ſhould be enjoyned to them, not with obedience due to it, but counſel not deſired of them.*

* *Corrumpi atque diſſolvi officium omne imperantis ratus, ſi quis ad id quod facere juſſus eſt, non obſequio debito, ſed conſilio non deſiderato reſpondeat.* A. Gell. l. 1. c. 13. ubi *non deſiderato* ex primis Venetis editionibus Locatelli & Aldi eſt repoſitum: pro quo recentiores *conſiderato* legunt.

And

And who seeth not what confusion would be brought, as well into a Family as a State, if a Son, or a Servant, or a Subject might have liberty to stand upon terms and chop Logick with his Father, Master, or Prince, and refuse to yield obedience to their commands, until he should see some reason for it? * *When the Lawyers are consulted* (saith Seneca) *their answers are received and stood to, although they come accompanied with no reasons.* And ought not this much more to have place in the *Law* it self? which should be accepted † *as a voice from God, that should command and not dispute.* Whereunto that observation of *Plutarch* also might be added, that ‖ *mens Laws carry not with them always an apparent reason of the things commanded in them; but may oftentimes seem ridiculous and absurd to him that knoweth not the mind of the Law-giver, nor the cause why those Laws at first were written:* together with that smart saying of St. *Augustine, think rather*

* *Juris consultorum valent responsa, etiamsi ratio non redditur.* Senec. Epist. 49.

† *Velut dimissa Divinitus vox sit; jubeat non disputet.* Id ibid.

‖ Οὐδὲ γὰρ οἱ ἄνθρωποι νόμους τιθέντες, τὸ εὔλογον ἁπλῶς ἔχουσι χαπάντων φανούμενον· ἀλλ' ἔνια καὶ δοκεῖ κομιδῇ λοιὰ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι τὰ πεπραγμένα. Et post. Καὶ ὅλως πολλὰς ἄν τις ὑφείποι νόμων ἀτοπίας, μήτε τὸν λόγον ἔχων τοῦ νομοθέτου, μήτε τὴν αἰτίαν συνιείς ἐφ' ἧς τὰ γεγραμμένα. Plutarch. in lib. de his qui sero à numine puniuntur.

ther * *what courſe you are to take with thoſe who will not obey, and how to handle them; then trouble your ſelf to make it appear to them that their diſobedience is a thing unlawful.*

* *Magis quid agas cum eis qui obtemperare nolunt cogitandum eſt, quam quemadmodum eis oſtendas non licere quod faciunt.* Auguſt. Epiſt. 73. ad Poſſid.

Nay for the preventing of theſe ſcrupulous queſtionings of the commands of our Superiours, and the curious enquiries into the reaſons of them; the Spirit of God requires our obedience, not in *ſome* thing only (which we ſhall judge to be fitting in our own fancy) but indefinitely in *all*. For ſo do his precepts run, * *Let Wives be ſubject to their own Husbands in every thing.* † *Children, obey your Parents in all things.* || *Servants obey in all things your Maſters.* Agreeable whereunto is that profeſſion, made by the *Iſraelites* unto *Joſhua* their Prince, ∴ *All that thou commandeſt us we will do; and whitherſoever thou ſendeſt us we will go: according as we hearkned unto* Moſes *in all things, ſo will we hearken unto thee.* To which rules ſo general we may not add any other exception, but that wherewith the Apoſtle qualifieth a like precept of our peaceable carriage toward

* Epheſ. 5. 24. with 1 Tim. 2. 11.
† Col. 3. 20.
|| Col. 3. 22. with Tit. 2. 9.
∴ Joſh. 1. 16, 17.

* Rom. 12. 18. ward all, * *If it be poſſible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men.* This going alſo for a currant Rule in the Civil Law, that † *Impoſſibilium nulla obligatio eſt:* || and in the Canon, *Nemo poteſt ad impoſſibile obligari.*

† D. de Regul. juris l. 145. (al. 185.)

|| *Nemo poteſt*, de Regul. juris in VI.

Now among ſuch things as *can not be done* are reckoned, not only thoſe which are in their own nature impoſſible, (as that a man ſhould pull down the Moon) or in reſpect of ones particular condition fall to be ſuch, (as to pay a greater ſum of mony than his ability or credit can reach unto:) but thoſe alſo that are repugnant to the Law of God and the known Rules of Piety and Honeſty. * *Let one do for the temporal preſervation of men*, ſaith S. *Auguſtin*, *what he is able. But when the matter is come to this paſs that he cannot procure this preſervation otherwiſe than by committing a ſin, let him then think he can do nothing, when he ſhall ſee there is nothing left to do*, but that which he cannot *do with a good Conſcience.* This paſſage is put by *Gratian* into the Decret. where thus the Gloſs ſpeaketh, *That only we are*

* *Faciat homo etiam pro temporali hominum ſalute, quod poteſt. Cum autem ad hunc articulum ventum fuerit, ut tali ſaluti conſulere, niſi peccando, non poſſit, jam ſe exiſtimet non habere quid faciat, quando id reliquum eſſe perſpexerit quod non recte faciat.* Aug. lib. contra mendacium cap. 7.

* *thought*

* *thought we can do, which we can justly do:* And the Gloss upon the *Regulæ* in VI. in a like expression, † *So much it is esteemed we can do, as we can do lawfully.* *Papinian* in the Civil Law more fully to the same effect, ‖ *Such acts as wrong our piety, reputation, modesty, and (to speak generally) are done against good manners, it is not to be believed that we are able to do them.*

* *Ex hoc cap. habes, quod solum illud dicimur posse facere, quod juste facere possumus.* Gloss. 23. quæst. 2. c. Faciat.

† *Id dicimur posse, quod de jure possumus.* Gloss. de Regul. jur. 68. in VI.

‖ *Quæ facta ladunt pietatem, existimationem, verecundiam nostram, & (ut generaliter dixerim) contra bonos mores fiunt, nec facere nos posse credendum est.* L. fillus D. de condit. instirut.

Yea the same Word of God which commandeth Wives and Children to be subject to their Husbands and Parents in all things, omitteth not elsewhere to add hereunto this necessary limitation, * *Children obey your Parents in the Lord.* † *Wives, submit your selves unto your own Husbands, as it is fit, in the Lord*: and for the general, ‖ *Submit your selves one to another, in the fear of God.* Whereupon when *Pharaoh* had given order for the killing of the male-children of the *Hebrews*, we find this commendation given to the Parents of *Moses*, that they were ∴ *not afraid of the Kings commandment*; and to the *Hebrew* Midwives, that they * *feared God and did not as the King commanded them, but*

* Ephes. 6. 1.
† Col. 3. 18.
‖ Ephes. 5. 21.
∴ Heb. 11. 23.
* Exod. 1. 17.

but ſaved the men-children alive. Which is conſonant to that precept of our Saviour, * *Fear not them wich kill the body, but are not able to kill the Soul: but rather fear him which is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell.* To which we may refer what S. *Auguſtin* hath by way of Dialogue between the *Pagan* Emperour and the *Chriſtian* Subject; † *Pay me my tribute, ſhew me thy obedience. Willingly: but not in the temple of Idols: there I am forbidden to do it. Who forbids thee? A Power far greater than yours. Be pleaſed therefore to excuſe me. You threaten to caſt me into Priſon, he into Hell.*

* Mat. 10. 28.

† Solve tributum, eſto mihi in obſequium. Redde: ſed non in idolio. In idolio prohibet. Quis prohibet? Major poteſtas. Da veniam: tu carcerem, ille gehennam minatur. Auguſt. de verbis Domini, Sermon 6.

Hence come thoſe reſtrictions in this kind which we meet withal in others of the Ancients: as in the Conſtitutions attributed to *Clement*, ‖ *Be ſubject to every King and Governor, in ſuch things wherein God is pleaſed:* and in the Epiſtle to the *Antiochians*, fathered upon *Ignatius*, ∴ *Be ſubject unto Cæſar, in ſuch things wherein your ſubjection may be without danger:* and in that Speech which *Polycarpus* uttered unto the Proconſul

‖ Πάσῃ βασιλείᾳ καὶ ἀρχῇ ὑποτάγητι, ἐν οἷς ἀρέσκει Θεῷ. Conſt. Apoſt. l. 4. c. 12.

∴ Τῷ Καίσαρι ὑποτάγητε, ἐν οἷς ἀκινδύνως ἡ ὑποταγή. Epiſt. ad Antiochen.

Conſul of *Aſia*, immediately before his Martyrdom,* *We are taught to give unto Principalities and Powers, ordained by God, ſuch honour as befitteth them, and doth not hurt us.* Whereunto you may add, if you pleaſe, that paſſage of *Tertullian*, † *As touching the honours due to Kings or Emperours, we have it ſufficiently preſcribed, that in all obedience we ought (according to the precept of the Apoſtle) to be ſubject unto Magiſtrates, Princes and Powers: but within the bounds of diſcipline, ſo far forth as we may ſeparate our ſelves from Idolatry:* and the rule of St. *Baſil*, ‖ that *we ought to be ſubject to the higher Powers in ſuch things as Gods command hinders not.*

* Δεδιδάγμεθα ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις ὑπὸ Θεοῦ τεταγμέναις τιμὴν κατὰ τὸ πρέπον, ἐφ' ὅσον μὴ βλάπτουσας ἡμᾶς ἀπονέμειν. Epiſt. Eccleſ. Smyr. apud Euſeb. lib. 4. Hiſt. Eccl. κεφ. ιε'. (cap. 14.).

† *Quod attinet ad honores Regum vel Imperatorum, ſatis præſcriptum habemus, in omni obſequio nos eſſe oportere, ſecundum Apoſtoli præceptum, ſubditos magiſtratibus & principibus, & poteſtatibus; ſed intra limites diſciplinæ, quousque ab idololatria ſeparamur.* Tertul. de Idololat. cap. 15.

‖ Ὅτι δεῖ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι, ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐντολὴ Θεοῦ μὴ ἐμποδίζῃ. Baſil. in Ethicis, Regul. 79.

This diſtinction therefore muſt neceſſarily be made in the divers commands of Princes: that ſome are of ſuch things as may and ought to be done, others of ſuch as cannot or ought not to be done. The former are of two ſorts: either ſuch as God hath tied us unto before,

before, whether the Prince had enjoined them or not, or ſuch as otherwiſe being of a middle & indifferent nature, the Prince (for reaſons beſt known to himſelf) thinks fit to interpoſe his Authority in. Of the one whereof S. *Auguſtine* writeth thus, * *When Emperors command that which is good, it is Chriſt and none elſe that commandeth by them:* and † *whoſoever will not obey the Laws made by them for Gods truth, incurreth a grievous judgment.* Which elſewhere alſo he thus ſpecifieth, in a larger manner, ‖ *When Emperours do profeſs the truth, they command for Truth againſt Errour: and whoſoever contemneth their commands, purchaſeth to himſelf condemnation. For he ſhall both ſuffer puniſhment among Men, and ſhall have no part with God; becauſe he would not do that which truth it ſelf by the Kings heart commanded him to do.* To the other we may refer that of the ſame Father, * *It is lawful for a King, in the Commonwealth where he reigneth, to command what*

* *Cum bonum jubent Imperatores, per illos non jubet niſi Chriſtus.* Aug. Ep. 166.

† *Quicunque autem legibus Imperatorum, quæ pro Dei veritate feruntur, obtemperare non vult, acquirit grande ſupplicium.* Id. Ep. 50.

‖ *Quando autem Imperatores veritatem tenent, pro ipſa veritate contra errorem jubent, quod quiſquis contempſerit, ipſe ſibi judicium acquirit. Nam & inter homines pœnas luit, & apud Deum ſortem non habebit; quia hoc facere noluit quod ei per cor Regis ipſa veritas juſſit.* Id. Epiſt. 166.

* *Regi licet in civitate cui regnat, jubere aliquid, quod neque ante illum quiſquam,*

what neither any man before him, nor he himſelf before did command: and yet are not the liberties of the State impeached by obeying, but rather by not obeying the ſame: and that likewiſe of *Bern.* * *There are things of a middle nature, which in themſelves are neither good nor evil: yet may indifferently, both well and ill, either be forbidden or commanded; but neither by the Subjects be ill obeyed.*

ne ipſe unquam juſſerat: & non contra ſocietatem civitatis ejus obtemperatur, imò contra ſocietatem non obtemperatur. Id. lib. 3. Confeſs. c. 8.

* *Sunt Media, quæ quidem per ſe nec bona eſſe noſcuntur nec mala: poſſunt tamen indifferenter, & bene pariter & male, vel prohiberi vel juberi; ſed male nullatenus in his à ſubditis obediri.* Bernard. Epiſt. 7.

But how are Subjects to carry themſelves, when ſuch things are enjoyned as cannot or ought not to be done? Surely not to accuſe the commander, but humbly to avoid the command; as * *Gratian* would have us do *if our Prelates* ſhould go about to conſtrain us unto evil: or, as ſome of the Heathen have more fully expreſſed it, † *Even thoſe commands which we ought not to obey, mildly and modeſtly, without too great deteſtation, and without any bitterneſs of upbraiding or of reproof, are to be declined gently, and rather as it were omitted than rejected.* And, when nothing elſe will ſerve the

* *Non hoc exemplo probantur Prælati accuſandi à ſubditis: ſed forma tantum datur humiliter renitendi Prælatis, ſi forte eos ad malum cogere voluerint.* 2. qu. 7. C. Nos ſi incompetenter.

† *Sed ea tamen, quæ obſequi non oportet, lenitur & verecunde, ac ſine deteſtatione nimia, ſineque opprobratione acerba reprehenſionis, declinanda ſenſim & relinquenda eſſe dicunt quam reſpuenda.* A. Gel. lib. 2. c. 7.

turn, as in things that may be done we are to expreſs our ſubmiſſion by *active*, ſo in things that cannot be done we are to declare the ſame by *paſſive* Obedience, without reſiſtance and repugnancy: ſuch a kind of ſuffering being as ſure a ſign of ſubjection, as any thing elſe whatſoever.

When *Pharaoh* impoſed an impoſſible task upon the *Iſraelites*, that they ſhould get them Straw where they could find it, and yet make up every day the ſame tale of Bricks which they had done formerly when they had Straw given to them: their Officers could not eſcape *beating*, for all the unreaſonableneſs of that exaction. * *And the Officers of the Children of Iſrael*, ſaith the Text, *did ſee they were in evil caſe, after it was ſaid, Ye ſhall not miniſh ought from your Bricks of your daily task.* In this ſo evil a caſe, where *active* Obedience could in no wiſe be performed, *paſſive* muſt ſerve the turn. So when *Darius* was drawn to ſign that ungodly Decree, that *Whoſoever ſhould ask a Petition of any God or Man for thirty days, ſave of the King, he ſhould be caſt into the den of Lions*; *Daniel*, being none of thoſe who would † *chuſe iniquity rather than*

* Exod. 5. 19.

‖ Job. 36. 21.

than affliction, made no ſcruple at all * *to kneel upon his knees three times a day, and to pray and give thanks before his God, as he did aforetime*: and when afterward, † *through Faith he had ſtopped the mouths of the Lions*, out of the bottom of that Den he was able to ſay with a clear conſcience, ‖ *Before my God innocency was found in me; and alſo before thee, O King, have I done no hurt.*

* Dan. 6. 10

† Heb. 11. 33.

‖ Dan. 6. 22.

He that conſults with fleſh and blood will hardly be induced to admit this Doctrine of paſſive Obedience: and therefore if he will learn this Leſſon, he muſt make choice of better Maſters; and liſten in the firſt place to the advice of *Solomon*, ∴ *Truſt in the Lord with all thine heart; and lean not unto thine own underſtanding*: and to that Oracle of the Son of God himſelf, * *If any man will come after me, let him deny himſelf, and take up his croſs, and follow me.* Then muſt he raiſe up his thoughts to the height of that Beatitude, which our Saviours own mouth hath given aſſurance of to all ſuch as will be ruled by him herein, † *Bleſſed are they which are perſecuted for righteouſneſs ſake: for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Bleſſed are you when men ſhall revile you, and perſecute*

∴ Prov. 3. 5.

* Mat. 16. 24.

† Mat. 5. 10, 11, 12.

ſecute you, and ſhall ſay all manner of evil againſt you falſly for my ſake. Rejoyce and be exceeding glad; for great is your reward in Heaven: for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets which were before you. Where, for the recompence of the reward, he is to weigh with S. *Paul* how * *our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory:* and for the precedent of the Prophets, to give ear unto that exhortation of S. *James*, † *Take, my brethren, the Prophets who have ſpoken in the name of the Lord, for an example of ſuffering affliction*, and of patience: and withal to caſt his eye not only upon that || *great Cloud of witneſſes* in the time of the Old Teſtament, of whom ſome .·. *were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better reſurrection; others had trials of cruel mockings and ſcourgings, of bonds and impriſonment, were ſtoned, were ſawn aſunder, were tempted, were ſlain with the ſword, &c.* but alſo upon that innumerable company of *Confeſſors* and *Martyrs* in the time of the New: the former of whom * *after they were illuminated, endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilſt they were made a*

* 2 Cor. 4. 17.

† Jam. 5. 10.

|| Heb. 12. 1.

.·. Heb. 11. 35, 36, 37.

* Heb. 10. 32, 33, 34.

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gazing-ſtock, both by reproaches and afflictions, and partly whilſt they became companions of them that were ſo uſed, and took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, knowing that they had in Heaven a better and an enduring ſubſtance: the other * *loved not their* lives unto the death, but laid down their † *heads for the witneſs of Jeſus*, and by that glorious || *death* of theirs *glorified God.*

* Rev. 12. 11.
† Rev. 20. 4.
|| John 21. 19.

But above all we are to ∴ *look unto Jeſus* himſelf, the author and *finiſher of our faith: who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Throne of God.* With which higheſt example (of him who * *thought it no robbery to be equal unto God*, and yet *humbled himſelf and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the croſs*) S. *Peter* cloſeth up thoſe † *forcible words* of his, wherewith he thus preſſeth the performance of this *paſſive* obedience whereof now we ſpeak, || *This is thankworthy, if a man for conſcience toward God endure grief, ſuffering wrongfully. For what glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your faults, ye ſhall take it patiently? but if when ye do well, and ſuffer for it, ye take it patiently, this is acceptable with God.*

∴ Heb. 12. 2, 3.
* Phil. 2. 6. 8.
† Job 6. 25. How forcible are right words?
|| 1 Pet. 2. 19, 20, &c.

God. *For even hereunto were ye called; becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example, that ye ſhould follow his ſteps: Who did no ſin, neither was guile found in his mouth: Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatned not, but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly.*

But thoſe ſtiff ſpirits, that will not ſtoop unto this paſſive kind of obedience (if they can help it) think they have ſtrucken the matter dead by propoſing this caſe unto us: *Suppoſe*, ſay they, *the King ſhould command us to Worſhip the Devil. Would you wiſh us here to lay down our heads upon the block, and not give us leave to ſtand upon our Guard, and to the utmoſt of our power repel the violence of ſuch a miſcreant? If not, what would become of Gods Church, and his Religion?* As if this had been a new caſe, never heard of before: and the Apoſtle had not ſufficiently declared unto us, that * *the things which the Gentiles ſacrificed, they ſacrificed to Devils and not to God.* And yet when this Devil-worſhip was ſo vehemently urged by the cruel Edicts of the perſecuting Emperours, did the Chriſtians ever take Arms againſt them for the

* 1 Cor. 10. 20.

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matter? or betook themſelves to any other refuge but fervent prayers to Almighty God (whom they acknowledged to be their *Princes* only ſuperior) and patient ſuffering of what diſgrace or puniſhment ſoever ſhould be impoſed upon them? To the cheerful undergoing whereof, ſee how S. *Peter*, in that forecited Epiſtle, doth animate and encourage them: * *Beloved, think it not ſtrange concerning the fiery trial, which is to try you, as tho ſome ſtrange thing happened to you. But rejoyce in as much as ye are partakers of Chriſts ſufferings; that when his glory ſhall be revealed, ye may be glad alſo with exceeding joy. If ye be reproached for the name of Chriſt, happy are ye; for the ſpirit of glory and of God reſteth on you: who on their part is evil ſpoken, but on your part he is glorified. But let none of you ſuffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or as an evil doer, or as a buſie-body, in other mens matters. Yet if any ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed; but let him glorifie God on this behalf.* * 1 Pet. 4 12. 13, &c.

Lo, † *here is the patience of the Saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jeſus.* Here are they that ſtuck not to ‖ *reſiſt unto blood, ſtriving* † Rev. 14. 12. ‖ Heb. 12. 4.

ſtriving againſt ſin: and yet make conſcience of reſiſting the power of their Prince; as having learned, that their obedience to God might well ſtand with their ſubjection to the authority placed by him in Man. Whereby ſo far off was it that * *the gates of Hell* (or *Death*) *did prevail againſt the Church*, that the blood of this noble Army of Martyrs became the fruitful ſeminary thereof. For † *the Chriſtian Faith, for many Ages together, being diſtreſſed every way by Nations, Kings, Laws, Slaughters, Croſſes, and Deaths, and yet be no manner of way repreſſed; yea, in the midſt of theſe, and by the means of theſe it grew,* ſaith *Paulus Oroſius.* ‖ *The World raged,* ſaith S. *Auguſtin, the Lion lifted himſelf up againſt the Lamb, but the Lamb was found ſtronger than the Lion. The Lion was overcome by ſhewing cruelty, the Lamb did overcome by ſuffering.* And S. *Hierom,* ∴ *By ſhedding of blood, and by ſuffering rather than by doing injuries, was the Church of Chriſt*

* Mat. 16. 18.

† *Chriſtiana fides per multa retro ſecula, ſævientibus undique adverſum ſe gentibus, Regibus, legibus, cædibus, crucibus ac mortibus, reprimi nullo modo potuit; imo inter hæc & per hæc crevit.* P. Oroſ. Hiſt. l. 6. c. 1.

‖ *Fremuit mundus, erexit ſe leo adverſus agnum: ſed fortior leone inventus eſt agnus. Leo victus eſt ſæviendo, agnus vicit patiendo,* Aug. in Pſal. 149.

∴ *Fundendo ſanguinem, & patiendo magis quam faciendo contumeli s. Chriſti ſundata eſt. Eccleſia: perſecutionibus crevit, Martyriis coronata eſt.* Hier. adv. errores Johan. Hieroſol. Epiſt. 62.

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at firſt founded: it grew by Perſecutions, and by Martyrdoms was Crowned.

But *if mens hands be thus tied*, will ſome ſay, *no mans ſtate can be ſecure: nay the whole frame of the Commonwealth would be in danger to be ſubverted and utterly ruined by the unbridled luſt of a diſtempered Governor.*

I anſwer, Gods Word is clear in the point, * *Whoſoever reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God: and they that reſiſt, ſhall receive to themſelves damnation:* and thereby a neceſſity is impoſed upon us of being *ſubject, even for conſcience-ſake*; which may not be avoided by the pretext of any enſuing miſchief whatſoever. For by this means we ſhould have liberty given unto us to † *ſpeak evil of the Law, and to judge the Law. But if thou judge the Law, thou art not a Doer of the Law, but a Judge*, ſaith S. *James*. It becomes us in obedience to perform our part; and leave the ordering of events to God, whoſe part only that is.

* Rom. 13. 2, 5.

† James 4. 11.

Again, the ground of this objection is exceeding faulty; and ſtandeth not with the Rules of *Humanity* or *Divinity*, either of ſound *Policy* or true *Piety*. For in the one, who of us have not heard

heard of that common Rule of our Common Law, that *a Miſchief is better than an inconvenience?* Not that our Common Lawyers were ſo void of common underſtanding, as to imagine that a *miſchief*, in it ſelf formally conſidered, ſhould be preferred before an *inconvenience*: but that an inconvenience, the conſequence whereof would reach unto the general, ſhould much more be prevented than any miſchief which might fall out in any particular caſe, or tend to the greateſt detriment of any perſon individual.

Thus for the determining of matters of fact, and the judgment depending thereupon, the Law eſtabliſhed by God himſelf is this, * *At the mouth of two witneſſes, or three witneſſes, ſhall he that is worthy of death be put to death.* By the ſubornation of falſe witneſſes it falleth out here that † *Naboth*, who is not worthy of death, is yet put to death. The ſhedding of innocent blood, a very great miſchief in that particular; but yet was to be given way unto, rather than the inconvenience ſhould be admitted in the general, that nothing ſhould be determined upon the teſtimony of two witneſſes. So in the defining

* Deut. 17. 6.

† 1 Kings 21. 13.

fining of matters of *right*, ſometimes it ſo falleth out, that by the unskilfulneſs, negligence or corruption of the Judge, the cauſe of the Righteous is overthrown, and judgment quite perverted: and yet is he, notwithſtanding his miſcarriage in ſuch particulars, accounted ſtill in the number of * *the gods*; and his Tribunal grac'd with the honourable title of † *the place of Judgment* and *the place of righteouſneſs*. And therefore, as our Saviour ſpeaketh in the former caſe, ‖ *It is written in your Law, that the teſtimony of two men is true*, that is, (as the former words of the Law it ſelf have it) ∴ *at the mouth of two witneſſes is the matter to be eſtabliſhed:* ſo in this other it goeth for a rule in the Civil Law, *that* * *a thing adjudged is accepted for Truth*: eſpecially if it be freely, and without all colour of ſurreption, ſo adjudged by the Prince, whoſe † *ſentence is preſumed always to be juſt*, and therefore not to be appealed from. For if things ſhould not be thus ended by the laſt ſentence of the higheſt Judge, this intolerable inconvenience would enſue there-

* Pſal. 82.1,2, 5,6.

† Eccleſ. 3.16

‖ John 8.17.

∴ Deut. 19.15

* *Res judicata pro veritate accipitur.* Ulpian. in D. l. 207. de Regul. juris. & l. Ingenuum de ſtatu hom.

† *Principis ſententia præſumitur ſemper juſta: unde ab eo non appellatur.* Cynus in l. Reſcripta, Cod. de precib. imper. offerend.

thereupon in the general matter of judicature, that Strifes would prove infinite, Suits immortal, and all Controverſies indeterminable. To which purpoſe alſo *Æneas Silvius* writeth thus, * *Although ſometime iniquity and unjuſt Judgment do proceed from the higheſt tribunal; yet muſt not a place therefore be given unto an appeal; ſeeing there is no Judge that may examine the temporal acts of the Emperour. Beſides it is more profitable to the Common-wealth for the extinguiſhing of Strifes, that the benefit of an appeal ſhould be denied unto a few that are unjuſtly oppreſſed, than that the gates of complaints ſhould be opened unto many that ſhall calumniate, after they have been juſtly condemned: ſeeing they are exceeding rare who will account themſelves to have been juſtly condemned: and the leſſer evil is always to be tolerated, that the greater may be avoided. Surely where it is always lawful to appeal, there alſo are found Strifes without end; there are enmities, there are new Scandals every day.* When

* *Quamvis à ſummo ſolio nonnunquam procedat iniquitas, injuſtumque judicium prodeat; non tamen idcirco locus eſt appellationi, cum nemo ſit judex qui temporalia Cæſaris facta valeat examinare. Utilius inſuper eſt Reipublicæ ad extinguendas lites, paucis injuſte oppreſſis appellationis beneficium denegari, quam multis calumniantibus, poſtquam juſte damnati fuerint, querelarum januas aperire: cum rariſſimi ſint qui ſe juſte reputent condemnatos; ſemperque minus malum tolerandum ſit, ut evitetur majus. Nempe ubi licitum eſt appellare, ibi quoque lites ſine fine reperiuntur; ubi ſunt inimicitiæ, ibi contentiones, ibi nova dietim ſcandala* Æn. ilv. de ortu & author. Imperii, cap. 23.

When * *out of a diſcomfited army, every tenth Souldier is beaten with a cudgel, the lot falleth alſo upon the valiant. Every ſuch great exemplary puniſhment hath ſomewhat that is unjuſt in it; which being in particular to the prejudice of ſome, is yet recompenſed by the general profit of the whole,* ſaith *Caſſius* in *Tacitus:* and *Tully* ſpeaking of the Office of the plebeian Tribunes,† *I confeſs,* ſaith he, *that there is ſome evil in that Government; but the good which is ſought in it we could not have without that evil* And it is the part of a prudent man in matters of this nature, to conſider as well the inconveniences of the one ſide as the conveniences of the other, and wiſely to compare together the miſchiefs that are like to break out on either ſide; and eſpecially to take care that the remedy which is thought upon, do not in the end prove far worſe than the Diſeaſe for the helping whereof it was provided. As in the particular now in hand; that the People may oppoſe their Kings, and withſtand them even with Arms, when they conceive the courſes taken by

* *Ex fuſo exercitu cum decimus quiſque fuſte feritur, etiam ſtrenui ſortiuntur. Habent aliquid ex iniquo omne magnum exemplum; quod contra ſingulos, utilitate publica rependitur.* Tacit. *Annal. lib.* 1.

† *Ego fattor in iſta poteſtate ineſſe quiddam mali: ſed bonum quod quæſitum eſt in ea, ſine iſto malo non haberemus.* Cicer. lib. de Leg.

them do tend to the diſhonour of God or the great detriment of the Commonwealth, may ſeem to vulgar minds (that look after nothing ſo much as their own liberty) to be a matter that ſtandeth with very great reaſon: while in the mean time they take no notice at all of the high miſchiefs rather than ordinary inconveniences, which are inſeparable companions of ſuch a deſperate combination.

For what greater * diſorder can fall out among men, than to make the inferiour over-rule the ſuperiour, the Subject the Prince? whereas *Solomon* might have taught ſuch, that † *delight is not ſeemly for a Fool; much leſs for a Servant to have Rule over Princes.* Beſides, what more unreaſonable thing can be thought upon, than to allow Subjects to be *Accuſers*, and *Judges*, and *Executioners* too, and that in their own cauſe, and againſt their own Sovereign; whereas one ‖ denied it to be fit that the Emperor himſelf ſhould be admitted to be an *Accuſer*: conſidering that by all *Laws of God and Man none may be both*

* Ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι πηγαί.
Καὶ δίκη, πάντα πάλιν στρέφεται.

Euripid. in Medea.

† Prov. 19.10.

‖ *Taceo quod Imperatorem accuſatorem eſſe non conveniat, poſtremo, iiſdem divinis humaniſque legibus nemo poſſit eſſe accuſator & judex.* Symmach. P. Apolog. adv. Anaſtaſ. Imp.

both an Accuſer and a Judge. Again, what greater madneſs can there be, than to ſeek the preſervation of the Commonwealth by making a rent therein, and embroiling it in a Civil War? than which no ſpeedier means could have been deviſed to bring it unto utter Ruin and Deſolation. For we know who hath ſaid, * *If a Kingdom be divided againſt it ſelf, that Kingdom cannot ſtand:* and it is a folly to imagine, that when the Subjects have once betaken themſelves unto Arms, the King will look on, and be content to ſit ſtill by the loſs. † *Arms are irritated by Arms,* ſaith one, and ‖ *if my Kingdom were of this World,* ſaith ovr Saviour, *then would my Servants fight, that I ſhould not be delivered to the Jews.*

* Mat. 3. 24.

† *Arma armis irritantur;* Plin. Paneg. ad Trajan.

‖ John 18. 36.

The King (you may be ſure) will not want his Party to joyn with him. and if he ſhould be put to any ſtreight at home, this would but drive him to ſupply himſelf with auxiliary forces from abroad: this being found true * by experience, (as *Tully* obſerveth) that *the afflicted ſtates of Kings do eaſily draw the helps of many unto*

× *Hoc jam ſere ſic fieri ſolere accepimus, ut Regum afflictæ fortunæ facile multorum opes alliciant ad miſericordiam, maximeque eorum qui aut Re-*

pity,

ges ſunt, aut vivunt in regno; quod Regale iis nomen magnum & ſanctum eſſe videatur. Cicer. Orat. pro lege Manil.

pity, and eſpecialy of them who are either Kings themſelves, or do live in a Kingdom; the Regal name being by them eſteemed to be great and ſacred.

Which how ready a way it is to ſubvert the ſtate of any ſuch diſtracted Kingdom, and to bring it under the ſubjection of Foreigners, we need not ſeek further for proof than from our own *Ireland*. For * when one of the petit Kings of this Nation was by domeſtical Diſſenſion driven out of his Country, *Julius Agricola* received him indeed under the colour of courteſie and friendſhip, but retained him only till occaſion ſhould ſerve, that he might uſe this as a means to ſubdue the whole Iſland to the *Roman* Government. And howſoever that project failed, by the recalling of *Agricola* unto *Rome* from his Lieutenantſhip in *Brittany*; yet afterward, when upon a like occaſion, *Dermot* King of *Lemſter* was forced by his Rebellious Subjects to crave the aid of *Henry* II. for the reſtoring of him to his Kingdom, this aſſociation produced that effect which now we ſee, that the *Iriſh* loſt their Domi-

* *Agricola expulſum ſeditione domeſtica unum ex Regulis gentis exceperat, ac ſpecie amicitiæ in occaſionem retinebat.* Corn. Tacit. in vita Agricolæ.

Dominion, and became ſubject to the Crown of *England* even until this day.

Nay to turn our eyes unto *Rome* it ſelf, and to paſs by that known * Ode of *Horace*, touching the effect of the Civil Wars there,

* Epod. lib. Od. 16.

Altera jam teritur bellis civilibus ætas,
Suis & ipſa Roma viribus ruit.
Quam neq; finitimi valuerunt perdere (Marſi,
Minacis aut Hetruſca Porſenæ ma- (nus, &c.

that of *Saluſt* (or ſome other not much inferiour to him) unto *Julius Cæſar*, a little before the changing of that State into a Monarchy, is worth our conſideration, † *This is my opinion: ſeeing all things that have a beginning muſt have an end, whenſoever that fatal time of the deſtruction of the Roman City ſhall come, that Citizens will fight with Citizens, and ſo having wearied themſelves and loſt their bloud, will fall to be a prey unto ſome King or Nation. Otherwiſe neither*

* *Ego ſic exiſtimo; quoniam orta omnia intereunt, quæ tempeſtate urbi Romanæ fatum excidii adventarit, civis cum civibus manus conſeruros: ita deſeſſos & exſangues, Regi aut Nationi prædæ futuros. Aliter non orbis terrarum, utq; cunctæ gentes conglobatæ, movere aut contundere queunt hoc imperium. Firmanda igitur ſunt concordiâ bona, & diſcordiæ mala expellenda.* Salluſt. Orat. 1. de rep. ordinand. ad C. Cæſar.

the whole World, nor all the Nations gathered into one heap, are able to move or quaſh this Empire: and much more that prognoſtick of *Seneca*, delivered not long after that the Monarchy had been founded there by *Cæſar*; wherein he declareth that the denying of obedience unto that Monarch, would prove the undoing of that mighty Empire. * *Such an accident as this,* ſaith he, *will be the bane of the Roman Peace; it will bring the fortunes of ſo great a People unto utter ruine. So long ſhall this People be free from that danger, as long as it knoweth how to endure the reins: which if at any time it ſhall break, or, when ſhaken off by any chance, it ſhall not ſuffer to be put on again, the union and contexture of this high Empire will fall in pieces, and the dominion of this City will expire together with her obedience. For* Cæſar *heretofore did ſo emboſom and enweave himſelf into the Commonwealth, that the one cannot be diſjoined from the other, without the deſtruction of them both: for as he hath need*

Hic caſus Romanæ pacis exitium erit; hic tanti fortunam populi in ruinas aget. Tamdiu ab iſto periculo aberit hic populus, quamdiu ſciet ferre frænes: quos ſi quando abruperit, vel aliquo caſu diſcuſſos reponi ſibi paſſus non erit; hæc unitas & hic maximi imperii contextus in partes multas diſſiliet; idemque huic urbi dominandi finis erit qui parendi fuerit, &c. Olim enim ita ſe induxit Reipubl. Cæſar, ut diduci alterum non poſſit ſine utriuſque pernicie. Nam ut illi viribus opus eſt, ita & huic capiti. Sen. de Clem. l. 1. c. 4.

need of Forces, ſo have they of a Head.

But

* *O curvæ in terras animæ & cœleſtium inanes!* *Perſ. Satyr. 2. & ex eo Lact. Div. inſtit. l. 2. c. 2.

Have we not read that which was ſpoken unto us by God? †*The Lord reigneth, let the earth rejoice: let the many* (or *great*) ISLES (whereof we are) *be glad thereof*, or muſt we yet be turned agrazing with *Nebuchadnezzar*, until we have learned his Leſſon? ‖*that the moſt high God ruleth in the Kingdom of men, and that he appointeth over it whomſoever he will.* For the fuller declaration whereof, it will not be amiſs to conſider, firſt, How God doth appoint men over Kingdoms according to his own pleaſure; and then, How he doth rule in and with them therein. Touching the firſt, we may obſerve, that God doth ſometime give a King unto a People out of love, ſometime out of anger. **Becauſe the Lord loved Iſrael for ever, therefore made he thee King*, to do Judgment and Juſtice, ſaith the Queen of *Sheba* to *Solomon*. And

† Pſal. 97. 1.

‖ Dan. 5. 21. & 4. 17, 25, 32.

* 1 King. 10. 9.

* Hoſ. 13, 11. on the other ſide, * *I gave thee a King in mine anger, and took him away in my wrath,* ſaith the Lord himſelf, by the mouth of his Prophet *Hoſea.* Whereby we are further alſo given to underſtand, that Gods *wrath* may ſhew it ſelf in the taking away of a King, as well as his *anger* in giving him: his wrath, I ſay, not againſt the King himſelf alone (as it fell out in the caſe of † *Saul*) but even againſt the People alſo, as it appeareth by that acknowledgment of theirs, which went before in the ſame Prophet, ‖ *We have no King, becauſe we feared not the Lord:* and by a more ſtrange effect of his wrath againſt them, in permitting good Kings ſometimes to take evil courſes for their puniſhment; according to that which we find recorded in Scripture,

† 1 Chron. 10. 13, 14.

‖ Hoſ. 10. 3.

* 2 Sam. 24. 1. with 1 Chron. 21. 1. * *And again the anger of the Lord was kindled againſt Iſrael; and David was moved* (by Satan) *againſt them, to ſay, Go number Iſrael and Judah:* even that *David* to whom God had given this teſtimony, † *I have found David the Son of Jeſſe, a man after mine own heart, which ſhall fulfil all my will.*

† Act. 13. 22.

‖ *Dat felicitatem in regno cœlorum ſolis piis, regnum vero terrenum & piis & impiis;* God, ſaith S. *Auguſtin,* ‖ *giveth bliſs in the Kingdom of Heaven to the godly alone, but this*

this earthly Kingdom both to the godly and ungodly, as it pleaſeth him, whom nothing unjuſtly can pleaſe. He that gave the Government *to Marius, gave it to* Cæſar; *he who gave it to* Auguſtus, *gave it alſo to* Nero; *he who gave it to the* Veſpaſians (*Father and Son*) *moſt ſweet and loved Emperours, gave it likewiſe to that man of cruelty,* Domitian: *and (not to recount the reſt of them) he who gave it to that Chriſtian Prince* Conſtantine, *gave it to that wretch* Julian *the Apoſtate. Theſe things without doubt that one and that true God doth rule and govern as he pleaſeth, by cauſes, although hidden, yet not unjuſt,* And this Leſſon hath been generally taught by. *Ireneus,* [b] *Origen,* [c] *Syneſius,* [d] *Theodoret,* [e] *Olympiodorus,* [f] *Anaſtaſius Sinaita,* [g] *Gregory,* [h] *Iſidore,* and others of the ancient (to ſpeak nothing of [i] *Æneas Silvius*, and others of later times) that ac-

ſicut ei placet cui nihil injuſte placet, &c. *Qui Mario, ipſe Caio Cæſari; qui Auguſto, ipſe & Neroni; qui Veſpaſianis, vel patri vel filio, ſuaviſſimis Imperatoribus, ipſe & Domitiano crudeliſſimo & (ne per ſingulos ire neceſſe ſit) qui Conſtantino Chriſtiano, ipſe apoſtatæ Juliano. Hæc plane Deus unus & verus regit & gubernat, ut placet. Et ſi occultis cauſis, numquid injuſtis?* Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. 5. c. 21.

[a] *Quidam illorum ad correctionem & utilitatem ſubjectorum dantur, & conſervationem juſtitiæ; quidam autem ad timorem, & pœnam, & increpationem; quidam autem ad illuſionem, & contumeliam, & ſuperbiam, quemadmodum & digni ſunt: Dei juſto judicio in omnibus æqualiter ſuperveniente.* Iren. l. 5. c. 24.

[b] *Non ſemper Principes populi & Eccleſiæ judex per Dei arbitrium datur; ſed prout merita noſtra depoſcunt. Si mali ſunt actus noſtri, & operamur malignum in conſpectu Domini, dantur nobis Principes ſecundum cor noſtrum.* Origen. in lib. Judic. Homil. 4.

c Ὅταν δεῖται κολασεῖν [ὁ Θεὸς] χρῆται νῦν μὲν ἔθνεσι βαρβάροις, νῦν δὲ ἄρχουσι πονηροῖς. Synes. Epist. 57.

d *Cum vult eos qui peccant castigare, eos etiam à malis Magistratibus regi permittit*, Theodoret. in Rom. 13.

e Πολλάκις τῷ σώματι φαινόμενον ἀγαθὸν συγχωρεῖ εἰς βασιλέα ἀναγορεύθῆναι ἐφ' ὧν κακωθῆναι βέλτιον δι' ἀυτῶν τοῦ ὑπηκόους διὰ τὴν αὐτῆς δυσκολίαν καὶ κακοτροπίαν. Olympiodor. in Job. (apud Anastas. Sinait. quæst. 16. pag. 180. Edit. Græco-Lat. Ingolstad. Jac. Gretseri: conferend. cum pag. 108. Carenæ Græco-Lat. in Job. Edit. Patr. Junii.

f Τὸ Θεῖον ἐν τῷ νόμῳ λέγοντος, Δώσω ὑμῖν ἄρχοντας καὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς ὑμῶν, εὐδηλον ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἡμῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ βασιλέων ὡς ἄξιοι τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς ὑπὸ Θεοῦ προχειρίζονται· οἱ δὲ πάλιν ἀνάξιοι ὄντες πρὸς τὸν ἄξιον λαὸν τῆς αὐτῆς ἀνεξιότητος, καὶ Θεοῦ συγχώσαντος ἢ βέλησιν, προχειρίζονται. Anastas. quæst. 16. init.

g *Quid ergo illos in nobis præesse despicimus, quorum super nos regimina ex Domini furore suscipimus? Si igitur, irascente Deo, secundum nostra merita rectores accipimus, in illorum actione colligimus, quid ex nostra æstimatione pensemus.* Et paulo post, *Sic ergo secundum merita subditorum tribuuntur personæ regentium; ut sæpe, qui videntur boni, accepto regimine permutentur: sicut Scriptura sacra de Saule intulit, quia cor cum dignitate mutavit.* Greg. Moral. in Job. lib. 34. c. 14.

h *Quo manifestius elucet, bonam malamque potestatem à Deo ordinari: sed bonam propitio, malam irato. Reges quando boni sunt, muneris est Dei: quando vero mali, sceleris est populi. Secundum enim meritum plebium desponitur vita rectorum, testante Jobo,* Qui regnare facit hypocritam propter peccata populi (Job. 34. 30. juxta Lxx:) *Irascente enim Deo talem rectorum populi suscipiunt, qualem pro peccato merentur. Nonnunquam pro malitia plebium etiam Reges mutantur, & qui ante videbantur esse boni, accepto regno fiunt iniqui.* Isidor. Hispal. Sentent. l. 3. c. 48. qui locus laudatur etiam in Concilio Paris. VI. l. 2. c. 1. (tomo 2. Concil. Galliæ pag. 529.) licet ibi perperam insertum sit lemma illud, *Gregorius in Moralibus*: cum in cap. 5. (p. 529.) rectius oppositum habeatur nomen *Isidori.*

i *Deus sæpe propter peccata subditorum depravari permittit vitam rectorum; Ex quo fit, ut occulto Dei judicio apud Deum justa nonnunquam reprehendantur, quæ nobis videntur injusta.* Æn. Silv. de ortu & author. Imp. c. 16.

cording to the quality of the People God useth to fit them with Princes: and therefore, when either evil ones are placed over them, or in their progress they

they prove worſe than they were at their beginning, they ſhould turn their thoughts from the diſcontent they conceive againſt the preſent Government, unto the conſideration of their own ſins, and the wrath of God puniſhing the ſame by this means at which they do repine. It being their duty rather in this caſe to * *humble themſelves under the mighty hand of God*, ſaying with *David*, † *I was dumb, I opened not my mouth, becauſe thou didſt it:* and with the Church, in the Prophet *Micah*, ‖ *I will bear the indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him.*

* 1 Pet. 5. 6.

† Pſal. 39. 9.

‖ Micah. 7. 9.

Touching the ſecond, we may obſerve with *S. Auguſtin*, that * *the Almighty doth work in the hearts of men even the motion of their own will; that he may work by them that which he hath a mind to work, who knoweth not at all unjuſtly to will any thing.* Whereupon we may refer that which God ſpeaketh concerning the King of *Aſſyria*, † *O Aſſyrian, the rod of mine anger, and the ſtaff in their hand is mine indignation. I will ſend him againſt an hypocritical Nation; and againſt the people of my wrath*

* *Agit omnipotens in cordibus hominum etiam motum voluntatis eorum; ut per eos agat quod per eos agere voluerit, qui omnino injuſte aliquid velle non novit.* Aug. de gratia & libero arbitr. c. 21.

† Iſa. 10. 5, 6, 7.

will I give him a charge to take the spoil, and to take the prey, and to tread them down like the mire of the streets. Howbeit he meaneth not so, neither doth his heart think so; but it is in his heart to destroy, and cut off Nations not a few.

* Ib. vers. 12. **Wherefore it shall come to pass, that when the Lord hath performed his whole work upon mount Sion and on Jerusalem, I will punish the fruit of the stout heart of the King of Assyria, and the glory of his high looks:* and concerning the King of *Babylon* after him, † *Israel is a scattered sheep, the lions have driven him away: first the King of Assyria hath devoured him, and last this Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon hath broken his bones. Therefore thus saith the Lord of hosts, the God of Israel, Behold I will punish the King of Babylon and his land, as I have punished the King of Assyria.*

† Jer. 15. 17, 18.

Themistius, a Heathen Orator ‖ doth more than once commend this sentence, taken (as he saith) out of the Writings of the *Assyrians*, *that the Kings heart is kept in the hand of God:* by the *Assyrians*, in all probability, meaning the *Hebrews:* and that saying in

‖ Πεπίστευκε γὰρ εὖ ποιῶν τῷ λόγῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ ὃς τὴν καρδίαν τοῦ βασιλέως λέγει (εὖ λέγων) ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ δορυφορεῖσθαι. Themist. Orat. 5. Ἀλλ' ἐγώ ποτε ὑπηρτόμην καὶ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων γραμμάτων ταυτὸ τοῦτο κομψευομένων, ὡς ἄρα ὁ νοῦς τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ παλάμῃ δορυφορεῖται. Id in Orat. 9.

in their Books, which *Gregory Nazianzen* thus citeth, That * *the Kings heart is in the hand of God, is both ſaid and believed.* And ſo indeed was it ſaid by the wiſeſt of Kings, and ſo believed by all faithful people, † *The Kings heart is in the hand of the Lord, as the Rivers of water; he turneth it whitherſoever he will.* For proof whereof we read in the Book of *Ezra*, that ‖ *the Lord ſtirred up the Spirit of Cyrus King of Perſia, that he made a Proclamation throughout all his Kingdom*, for the freeing of the *Jews* from the *Babylonian* captivity: that he ∴ *turned the heart* of *Darius* unto them, *to ſtrengthen their hands in the work of the houſe of God*, and that he * *put in the heart of King Artaxerxes to beautifie the houſe of the Lord which is in Jeruſalem.* And what a hand he hath in the reſtraining them from doing evil unto his ſervants, we may perceive by that ſpeech which he uſeth to *Abimelech* King of *Gerar*, concerning *Sarah* the Wife of *Abraham*, *I withheld thee from ſinning againſt me: therefore ſuffered I thee not to touch her.* As by that watchful eye which he had over our Head, all his poor

* Καρδία βασιλέως ἐν χειρὶ Θεοῦ καὶ εἴρηται καὶ πιστεύεται. Greg. Nazianz. Orat. 27. (quæ in Latina Jo. L. wenkl. edit. 12. eſt.)

† Prov. 21. 1.

‖ Ezra. 1. 1.

∴ Chap. 6. 22.

* Chap. 7. 27.

poor members may gather this comfort; that all the Potentates upon earth are not able to touch them, until he give them power ſo to do; and that, at ſuch a time, and in ſuch a place, and in ſuch a meaſure, as he ſhall be pleaſed to limit them unto.

The conſideration hereof made the Apoſtles to *lift up their voice *to God with one accord*, and ſay, *Of a truth againſt thy holy child Jeſus, whom thou haſt anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles and the People of Iſrael, were gathered together, for to do whatſoever thy hand and thy counſel determined before to be done.* And our Lord Jeſus †himſelf here upon earth, † being warned by ſome of the Phariſees to get him out of *Galilee*, becauſe *Herod would kill him*; told them that *he muſt walk to day and to morrow, and the day following*, and that *it could not be that a Prophet periſh out of Jeruſalem*: ſhewing that it lay not in the power of *Herod* to appoint either the *time* of his death, nor yet the *place*; which was not to be in *Galilee*, where his juriſdiction lay, but in *Jeruſalem*, which was then in the power of *Pilate* the *Roman* Governor. And when *Pilate* himſelf did afterward

* Act. 4. 24, 27, 28.

† Luke 13. 31, 33.

inſo-

inſolently brag, that he * *had power to crucifie him, and had power to releaſe him*; he returned him this anſwer again, *Thou couldſt have no power at all againſt me, except it were given thee from above.* Which S. *Auguſtin* compareth with that other ſaying of the Apoſtle, †*There is no power but of God:* and out of both deduceth this concluſion,

|| *A man may have luſt to hurt of his own: but power, if God do not give it, he hath none. For that there is no power but of God, is the definitive ſentence of the Apoſtle. He did not ſay, There is no luſt but of God; for there is an evil luſt which is not of God: but becauſe that evil luſt can hurt no man if he do not permit, he ſaith,* There is no power but of God. *Whereupon God made man, ſtanding before a man, ſaid,* Thou couldſt have no power againſt me, except it were given thee from above. *The one did judge, the other did teach. When he was judged he did teach: that he might judge thoſe whom he did teach.*

* Joh. 19. 10, 11.

† Rom. 13. 1.

|| *Cupiditatem nocendi poteſt homo habere propriam: poteſtatem autem, ſi ille non dat, non habet. Non eſt enim poteſtas niſi à Deo: definita ſententia Apoſtoli eſt. Non dixit, non eſt cupiditas niſi à Deo; eſt enim mala cupiditas, quæ non eſt à Deo: ſed quia ipſa mala cupiditas nulli nocet, ſi ille non permittat,* Non eſt, *inquit,* poteſtas niſi à Deo. *unde Deus homo ſtans ante hominem,* Non haberes, *inquit,* in me poteſtatem niſi data fuiſſet tibi deſuper. *iſte judicabat, ille docebat. Cum judicabatur docebat. ut judicaret quos docuerat.* Non haberes, *inquit,* in me poteſtatem, niſi eſſet data tibi deſuper. *Quid eſt hoc? Homo tantum non habet poteſtatem, niſi cum acceperit deſuper? Quid ipſe Diabolus? Auſus eſt vel unam aviculam tollere viro ſancto Job, niſi prius diceret,* Mitte manum

Thou

tuam, *hoc eſt, da poteſtatem? Ille volebat, ſed ille non ſinebat. Quando ille permiſit, ille potuit. Non ergo ille potuit, ſed qui permiſit.* Auguſt. in Pſal. 32. Conc. 2.

Thou couldſt have no power, *ſaith he*, againſt me, except it were given thee from above. *What is this? Hath a man only no power, unleſs he receive it from above?* What hath the Devil himſelf? *Durſt he take away ſo much as one Sheep from the holy man Job, before he had firſt ſaid*, Put forth thine hand, *that is, give me power? He had a will to do it, but God did not ſuffer him. When he did ſuffer him, the other was able to do it. It is not he therefore that was able, but he that permitted him*: even God, * *from whom are all powers; howſoever all mens wills are not from him.*

* *A quo ſunt omnes poteſtates, quamvis ab illo non ſint omnium voluntates.* Aug. de Civit. Dei. l. 5. c. 8.

To the ſame purpoſe the ſame Father writeth very excellently in another place, † *Not whatſoever we do ſuffer from our enemies, is to be imputed to our enemies, and not to our Lord God: Foraſmuch as our Mediatour even in his own example hath demonſtrated unto us that, when he from above doth permit men to hurt us, not the will but the power of hurting is given from above.*

† *Non quicquid paſſi ab inimicis ſuerimus, hoc inimicis deputandum eſt, & non Domino Deo noſtro. Quandoquidem in ipſo ſuo exemplo Mediator demonſtravit, quando nobis deſuper permittit homines nocere, non voluntatem nocendi deſuper dari, ſed poteſtatem. Unuſquiſq; enim malus apud ſe habet voluntatem nocendi: ut autem poſſit nocere, non habet in poteſtate. Ut velit,*

above. For every evil man hath in himſelf a will to hurt: but to have ability to hurt, he hath not in his power. In that he hath the will he is already guilty; but that he ſhould have the ability, it is permitted by the hidden diſpenſation of Gods providence, toward ſome for puniſhment, toward ſome for trial, toward ſome for the obtaining a crown. For puniſhment: as the Philiſtins were permitted to ſubdue the people of Iſrael, becauſe they had ſinned againſt God. For trial, the Devil was permitted to aſſault Job: but Job was tried, the Devil confounded. For the winning of the crown, the Perſecutors were let looſe againſt the Martyrs. The Martyrs were ſlain, the Perſecutors thought they had gotten the day: theſe did falſly triumph in publick, the other were truly crowned in ſecret. Therefore, that he is permitted to deal

jam reus eſt: ut poſſit, occulta diſpenſatione providentiæ Divinæ, in alium permittitur ad pœnam, in alium permittitur ad probationem, in alium permittitur ad coronam. Ad pœnam: quomodo permiſſi ſunt ἀλλόφυλοι, id eſt, alieni genæ, capere populum Iſrael, quia peccaverunt in Deum. Ad probationem autem permiſſus eſt Diabolus in Job: probatus eſt autem Job, confuſus eſt Diabolus. Ad coronam vero permiſſi ſunt perſecutores in Martyres. Occiſi ſunt Martyres; quaſi viciſſe ſe arbitrati ſunt perſecutores: illi in manifeſto falſo triumphaverunt, illi in occulto vere coronati ſunt. Ergo in quem permittitur, occultæ diſpenſationis eſt providentiæ Dei; ut autem velit nocere ipſius hominis eſt: non enim continuo quem vult occidit. Itaque ipſe Dominus, judex vivorum & mortuorum, ſtans ante hominem judicem (præbens nobis humilitatis exemplum & patientiæ documentum; non victus, ſed militibus pugnandi exemplum demonſtrans) minanti judici, tumenti ſuperbia & dicenti, Neſcis quia poteſtatem habeo dimittendi & occidendi te? abſtulit typhum inflantis, & tanquam reddens exuffiationem qua detumeſcerit, Non haberes, *inquit*, in me poteſtatem, niſi data tibi eſſet deſuper. Aug. Præf. in enar. 2. Pſal. 29. Vide etiam eund. ad Simplic. l. 2. quæſt. 1. (cum Retractat. l. 2. c. 1.)

deal againſt any, proceedeth from the hidden diſpenſation of Gods providence; but that he hath a will to hurt, cometh from the man himſelf: for he cannot kill preſently whomſoever he willeth. Whereupon the Lord himſelf, the Judge of the quick and the dead, ſtanding before a man that was his Judge (delivering therein unto us an example of humility, and a document of patience; not being himſelf overcome, but ſhewing unto his Souldiers a pattern of fighting) from that Judge threatning and ſwelling with pride (and ſaying, Knoweſt thou not that I have power to releaſe thee, and to kill thee?) *took away the tumour which blew him up, and giving it a puff as it were to make it grow down,* Thou couldſt, *ſaid he,* have no power againſt me, except it were given thee from above.

Hereunto we may add likewiſe that place of *Johannes Sarisburienſis,* **That which the Prince hath ability to do, is ſo from God, that the power doth not depart from the Lord: but he uſeth it by an under-poſed hand, ſhewing in all things a document either of his mercy or of his juſtice.* Whoſoever *therefore*

* *Quod Princeps poteſt, ita à Deo eſt ut poteſtas à Domino non recedat: ſed ea utitur per ſuppoſitam manum; in omnibus doctrinam faciens clementiæ aut juſtitiæ ſuæ. Qui ergo* reſiſtit poteſtati, *Dei ordinationi reſiſtit, penes quem eſt auctoritas conferendi eam, &, cum vult, auferendi & minuendi eam. Ut-*

fore reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God, *who hath the authority of conferring it, and, when he pleaſeth, of taking away or diminiſhing it. For it is not in the power of a great man to exerciſe cruelty upon thoſe that are under his Government, when he liſteth; but it is of Gods own diſpenſation, to puniſh or exerciſe the Subjects according to his good pleaſure.* Out of all which we may learn, that not only the ability which Princes have of doing every particular thing in their Government, but alſo the ordering the ends thereof, either to the good or evil of the party to whom it is done, dependeth altogether upon the pleaſure of God, who oftentimes bringeth light out of darkneſs, and diſpoſeth of events to far other purpoſes than we at firſt would have conceived them to tend unto. Which the very Heathen did partly take notice of, who ſaid, * *The condition of mortal men hath theſe kinds of viciſſitudes, that adverſe things do ariſe out of proſperous, and proſperous out of adverſe. God doth hide the ſeeds of both; and the cauſes*

que enim potentis eſt, cum vult ſævire in ſubditos; ſed Divinæ diſpenſationis pro beneplacito ſuo punire vel exercere ſubjectos. Joh. Sarisburienſ. Polycr. l. 4. c. 1.

* *Habet has vices conditio mortalium, ut adverſa ex fecundis, ex adverſis ſecunda naſcantur. Occultat utrorumque ſemina Deus & plerumque bonorum malorumque cauſæ ſub diverſa ſpecie latent.* Plin. Paneg ad Trajan.

of

of our good and evil accidents do oftentimes lurk under a far different ſhew.

* 2 Pet. 2.9. *The Lord knoweth,* ſaith *S. *Peter, how to deliver the godly out of temptations; and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the day of judgment to be puniſhed.* And although † Jam. 1.20. † *the wrath of man worketh not the righteouſneſs of God*: yet doth God ſo order the matter, that ‖ Pſal. 76.10. ‖*the wrath of man ſhall praiſe him, and the remainder of wrath ſhall be reſtrained by him.* Whereupon S. *Auguſtine* when he had declared, that * *the power even of hurtful* Kings *is from none but God*; for the juſtifying of his proceeding therein he addeth, that *it is not unjuſt that naughty men receiving power to hurt, both the patience of the good ſhould be tried, and the iniquity of the wicked* Perſecutors *ſhould be puniſhed.* For, as he elſewhere alſo noteth, †*When Emperours do make evil Laws for falſhood and againſt the truth; the right Believers are tried, and ſuch as perſevere are crowned:* and again, ‖ *The terrour of the temporal powers, when it doth oppoſe*

* *Etiam nocentium poteſtas non eſt niſi à Deo: ſicut ſcriptum eſt, loquente Sapientia,* Per me Reges regnant, & tyranni per me renent terram, *&c. Injuſtum enim non eſt ut improbis accipientibus nocendi poteſtatem, & bonorum patientia probetur, & malorum iniquitas puniatur.* Aug. lib. de Natura Boni, adverſus Manich. c. 32.

†*Imperatores quando pro falſitate contra veritatem conſtituunt malas leges, probantur bene credentes, & coronantur perſeverantes.* Id. Epiſt. 50. *Imperatores ſi in errore eſſent, pro errore ſuo contra veritatem leges darent, per quas juſti & probarentur & coronarentur, non faciendo quod illi juberent quia Deus prohiberet.* Id. Epiſt. 166.

‖ *Terror temporalium poteſta-*

oppoſe the truth, is to the Juſt and Strong a glorious trial, but to the Weak a dangerous temptation: but when it propoſeth the truth to ſuch as err, and are at diſcord, to men of underſtanding it proveth a profitable admonition, and to ſuch as are not ſenſible thereof an unprofitable affliction. And yet there is no power but of God; and he that reſiſteth the power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God; for Rulers are not a terrour to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou ſhalt have praiſe of the ſame. *For whether the Power, favouring the truth, doth correct any man, he that is amended hath praiſe thereby; or being enemy to the truth, doth uſe cruelty againſt any, he that receiveth the crown for obtaining the victory hath praiſe for the ſame.* And therefore ſaith he, * *If thy Governour be good, he is thy Nou-*

tum, quando veritatem oppugnat; juſtis fortibus gloriosa probatio eſt, infirmis periculoſa tentatio: quando autem veritatem prædicat erantibus & diſcordantibus; cordatis utilis admonitio eſt, & inſenſatis inutilis afflictio. Non eſt tamen poteſtas niſi à Deo: qui autem reſiſtit poteſtati, Dei ordinationi reſiſtit: Principes enim non ſunt timori bono operi, ſed malo. Vis autem non timere poteſtatem? bonum fac, & habebis laudem ex illa. *Sive enim poteſtas veritati favens aliquem corrigat, laudem habet ex illa qui fuerit emendatus: ſive inimica veritati in aliquem ſæviat, laudem habet ex illa qui victor fuerit coronatus.* Id Epiſt. 48. *Non ait,* Bonum fac, & laudabit te poteſtas, *ſed ait,* Bonum fac, & habebis laudem ex illa, *vel cum eam in obſequium Dei lucratus fueris, vel cum ejus perſecutione coronam meruerit.* Id. in expoſit. quarund. propoſit. ex Epiſt. ad Rom.

* *Bonus ſi fuerit qui tibi præeſt, nutritor tuus eſt: malus ſi fuerit, tentator tuus eſt. Et nutrimenta libenter accipe, & in tentatione approbare. Eſto aurum; attende mandum iſtum tanquam for-*

riſſer:

*acem artificis. In uno angusto loco tria sunt; aurum, palea, ignis. Ad illa duo ignis apponitur: palea uritur, aurum purgatur. Id. de verbis Domini, Serm. 6.

riſher: if he be evil, he is thy Tempter. Receive thy nouriſhment willingly, and approve thy ſelf in temptation. Be thou gold: conſider this world as the Furnace of the Workman. In one narrow place there are three things; Gold, Chaff, and Fire. The Fire is put unto the other two: the Chaff is burned, the Gold is purged. To which kind of

* 1 Pet. 4. 12. * fiery trial thoſe paſſages of Scripture are to be referred, When he hath tried me, I ſhall come forth as gold. Job 23. 10.) That the trial of your faith being much more precious than of gold that periſheth, though it be tried with fire, might be ſo found unto praiſe, and honour, and glory, at the appearing of Jeſus Chriſt. (1 Pet. 1. 7.) Many ſhall be purified and made white and tried. (Dan. 12. 10.) Bleſſed is the man that endureth temptation: for when he is tried, he ſhall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promiſed to them that love him. (James 1. 12.)

To draw then to a concluſion of this point, † Either thou doſt juſtly, & the juſt power will praiſe thee; or thus doing juſtly, although the unjuſt power ſhould con-

† Aut juſte agis, & juſta poteſtas laudabit te: aut juſte agentem, etiamſi poteſtas injuſta damnet te, Deus juſtus coronabit te. Prim. in Rom. 23.

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demn thee, the just God will crown thee, is the saying of *Primasius*. And **If the King doth punish thee when thou art nocent give place to Justice; if when thou art innocent, give place to Fortune,* was of old the advice of sage *Seneca*. Now if a Heathen could bring his mind to such a temper, by yielding unto his blind *Fortune*; how much more should a Christian arm himself with patience, by giving way to the All-seeing Providence of our most wise God? who so † *worketh all things after the counsel of his own will*, that he causeth *all things to work*, not only severally, but also ‖ *jointly, for good to them that love him*: making their temporal evil an occasion of their eternal good: according to that of S. *Augustine*, * *Princes are to be suffered by their People, and Masters by their Servants: that in the exercise of their patience temporal things be born, and eternal hoped for* by them. Whereof his Scholar *Prosper* maketh this Paraphrase in his Epigrams,

* *Rex es? si nocentem punit, cede justitiæ; si innocentem, cede fortunæ.* Senec. de Ira, l. 2. c. 30.

† Ephes. 1. 11.

‖ Πάντα συνεργεῖ εἰς ἀγαθόν. Rom. 8. 28

* *Ita & à plebibus Principes, & à servis Domini sunt ferendi, ut sub exercitatione tolerantiæ sustinentur temporalia, & speretur æterna.* Prosp. sentent. 34. ex Aug.

Reddendum eſt quicquid mundi bene poſtulat ordo,
Propoſitumque piæ non violat fidei.
Mitibus & ſanctis nulla eſt ſpernenda poteſtas:
Æquum ſervire eſt Regibus & Dominis.
Ut Chriſti famulis ad verum proſit honorem,
Dilexiſſe bonos, & toleraſſe malos.

And ſo much both of the *Active* obedience, which in all things that may be done, we are bound to perform unto our Sovereigns; and of the *Paſſive*, which, in other caſes, with all Chriſtian fortitude we are tied to undergo, without the leaſt carnal thought either of reſiſting their Authority, or conſpiring againſt their Perſon, State, or Dignity.

IT followeth that we ſhould here alſo ſay ſomewhat touching the *Oath* *of God: than which † no bond hath been eſteemed ſo ſtrait to bind mens Faith, as in all other matters, ſo eſpecially in this particular of ‖Fidelity and Obedience to be performed by Subjects unto their Princes. Wherein a double kind of Oath may be taken into conſideration; the one *Tacite*, the other *Expreſs*. For as in Matrimony the ∴ *covenant* made between Man and Wife is in the Scripture ſtiled **the Covenant of God*; becauſe thereby they have not onely impledged themſelves the one into the other upon Earth, but alſo to God in Heaven, who is both a witneſs of that Contract, and a ſevere revenger of the breach thereof: ſo this being †*the general Covenant of humane*

*Ὅρκος δὲ πίστεως ἔμφασις θεῷ. Greg. Nazianz. in ὅρους ſive definit. rerum ſimplicib.

Ὅρκος δέ ἐστι μὴ θείας παραλήψεως φάσις ἀναπόδεικτος. Ariſtot. Rhetor. ad Alexand. c. 18.

† *Nullum vinculum ad ſtringendam fidem jurejurando majores arctius eſſe voluerunt. Id indicant leges in* XII. *tabul. indicant ſacra, indicant fœdera quibus etiam cum hoſte devincitur fides; indicant notiones animadverſionesque cenſorum, qui nulla de re diligentius quam de jurejurando judicabant.* Cicer. Offic. l. 3.

‖ *Non ignarus alioquin, nemini religioſius quod juraverit cuſtodiendum, quam cujus maxime intereſt not pejerari.* Plin. de Trajano in Panegyrico ſuo. Ad quem Lipſius; *Nam Principum ſtatus & ſalus juramento nitebatur, quod quotannis, ipſis Kalendis Januariis, Se-*

natus præstabat. ∴ Mal. 2. 14. * Prov. 12. 17. † *Generale pactum est societatis humanæ, obedire Regibus suis.* Aug. l. 3. Conf. c. 8.

mane ſociety (as S. *Auguſtine* ſpeaketh) *to obey our Kings*; God ſheweth himſelf to be ſo far intereſſed therein, as if an atteſtation had been interpoſed of his own glorious and fearful name. Upon which ground *Solomon* doth counſel, or rather *charge* us (for the principal Verb is wanting in the Original; as if no word could be found ſignificant enough to expreſs the deepneſs of the charge) *to keep the Kings commandment, and that in regard of the Oath of God:* the very being in the condition of a Subject, carrying with it by implication a kind of a ſilent Oath of Fidelity and due Obedience.

Eccl. 8. 2.

But Princes for their better ſecurity, beſide this tacite and implicite, thought fit their Subjects ſhould be further charged with expreſs and direct forms of Oaths. Examples whereof we have; one, that which the †Emperour *Juſtinian* required of thoſe who bore office under him; another, ∴ taken by the Subjects of *Charles* the Great; divers * required both of the Clergy and the Laity, by *Carolus Calvus*; † the Oath of Fidelity made unto *Fre-*

‡ Juſtin. Nov. 9. tit. 3.

∴ Marculp. Formul. à Frid. Lindenbrogio ed. num. 40. *Capitul. Caroli Calv. c. 13, 22, & 38. (p. 117, 165, & 387. edit. Pariſ. an. 1623.

† De pace Conſtan. (in fine corporis juris Civilis.)

Frederick Barbaroſſa and King *Henry* his Son by the Cities of *Lombardy*, *Marchia* and *Romandiola*: and with us not only the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance* ordained by latter Statutes; but alſo *the Oath of *Ligeance*, which every Subject above the age of 12 years is tied to take in the Tourn or Leet, by the ancient Common Law.

* Coke 7. Report. fol. 6, & 7. in Calvins Caſe, and in his Inſtitutes, Sect. 94. & 259.

The violation of which ſacred bonds how heinouſly God doth take, even as a deſpiſing of his own Oath, and a breaking of his own Covenant, theſe terrible threats of his againſt *Zedekiah*, that †*rebelled againſt King Nebuchadnezzar, who had made him ſwear by God*, do ſufficiently demonſtrate. ‖ *Behold, the King of Babylon is come to Jeruſalem, and hath taken the King thereof, and the Princes, and led them with him to Babylon. And hath taken of the Kings ſeed, and made a Covenant with him, and hath taken an oath of him: he hath alſo taken the mighty of the Land. That the Kingdom might be baſe, that it might not lift it ſelf up, bet that by keeping of his Covenant it might ſtand. But he rebelled againſt him, in ſending his Ambaſſadours into Egypt, that they might give him horſes and*

† 2 Chron. 36. 13.

‖ Ezek. 17. 12, 13, &c.

much People. Shall he proſper? ſhall he eſcape that doth ſuch things? or ſhall he break the Covenant and be delivered? As I live, ſaith the Lord God, ſurely in the place where the King dwelleth that made him King, whoſe Oath he deſpiſed, and whoſe Covenant he brake, even with him in the midſt of Babylon he ſhall die. Neither ſhall Pharaoh with his mighty Army and great company make for him in the way by caſting up Mounts, and building Forts to cut off many perſons. Seeing he deſpiſed the Oath, by breaking the Covenant (when, loe, he had given his hand) and hath done all theſe things, he ſhall not eſcape. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord God, As I live, ſurely MINE *Oath that he hath deſpiſed, and* MY *Covenant that he hath broken, even it will I recompenſe upon his own head. And I will ſpread my Net upon him, and he ſhall be taken in my Snare, and I will bring him to Babylon, and will plead with him there for his treſpaſs that he hath treſpaſſed againſt* ME. *And all his fugitives with all his bands ſhall fall by the Sword, and they that remain ſhall be ſcattered towards all winds: and ye ſhall know that I the Lord have ſpoken it.*

And the ſentence is very ſolemn which

which *Iſidore*, that famous Archbiſhop of *Sevil*, with threeſcore and ten other Biſhops aſſembled in the IV. Council of *Toledo*, did pronounce againſt ſuch rebellious perſons as made no conſcience of the performance of that Oath of Fidelity which they had taken for the preſervation of the ſafety of their King and Country; **Whoſoever of us, or of the People throughout all* Spain, *ſhall from henceforward, by any kind of conſpiracy or practice, violate the Oath of Fidelity which he hath taken for the ſafeguard of the Country and Gothiſh Nation, or the preſervation of the Kings Majeſty, or ſhall attempt the Kings death, or deprive him of the Government of his Kingdom, or by tyrannical preſumption uſurp the Regal Throne; let him* (ſay they in the firſt place) *be accurſed before God the* FATHER *and the Angels, be caſt out of the Catholick Church which by his perjury he hath profaned, and excommunicated from the company of all Chriſtian men, together with all the complices of his impiety: it being*

* *Quicunque amodo ex nobis, vel totius Hiſpaniæ populis, qualibet conjuratione vel ſtudio, ſacramentum fidei ſuæ quod pro patriæ gentiſq; Gothorum ſtatu, vel conſervatione Regiæ ſalutis (vel incolumitate Regiæ poteſtatis) pollicitus eſt, temeraverit, aut Regem nece attrectaverit, aut poteſtate regni exuerit, aut præſumptione tyrannica regni faſtigium uſurpaverit, anathema in conſpectu Dei Patris & Angelorum, atque ab Eccleſia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni cœtu Chriſtianorum alienus, cum omnibus impietatis ſuæ ſociis: quia oportet ut una pœna teneat obnoxios, quos ſimilis error invenerit implicatos.* Concil. Toletan. IV. cap. ult.

being fit that they ſhould be liable to the ſame penalty, who are found involved in the errour of the like conſpiracy. And (in the ſecond place) * *let him be accurſed before* CHRIST *and his Apoſtles, be caſt out of the Catholick Church,* &c. *and be damned in Gods future judgment, together with his partakers: it being juſt that they who are aſſociated to ſuch, ſhould likewiſe be held obnoxious to the participation of their condemnation.* And (the third time alſo) † *Let him be accurſed before the* HOLY GHOST *and the Martyrs of Chriſt, be caſt out of the Catholick Church,* &c. *and let him have no portion with the juſt, but be condemned to eternal puniſhments with the Devil and his Angels, together with thoſe that are combined in the ſame conſpiracy: that they may be tied in the ſame penalty of perdition, who were joined in the ſame wicked ſociety of ſedition.* Which ſentence of the Biſhops, three times thus denounced, In the Name of the Father, and

* *Anathema in conſpectu Chriſti & Apoſtolorum ejus ſit, atque ab Eccleſia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni conſortio Chriſtianorum alienus, & damnatus in futuro Dei judicio habeatur, cum partícibus ſuis: quia dignum eſt ut qui talibus ſociantur, ipſi etiam damnationis eorum participatione obnoxii teneantur.* Concil. Tolet. IV. cap. ult.

† *Anathema ſit in conſpectu Spiritus Sancti & Martyrum Chriſti, atque ab Eccleſia Catholica, quam perjurio profanaverit, efficiatur extraneus, & ab omni communione Chriſtianorum alienus: neque partem habeat juſtorum, ſed cum Diabolo & angelis ejus æterni ſupplicii condemnetur, una cum iis qui eadem conjuratione nituntur; ut par pœna perditionis conſtringat, quos in pernicie prava ſocietas copulat.* Concil. Tolet. IV. cap. ult.

and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt, was ſeconded by this general acclamation of the whole Clergy and People that were preſent, * *Whoſoever ſhall preſume againſt this definition of yours, let them be Anathema Maranatha, that is, accurſed unto the coming of our Lord; and let them have their part with Judas Iſcariot, both they and their aſſociates.*

This † proviſion for the ſafety and behoof of Princes was confirmed likewiſe in the V. Council of *Toledo*; and this Canon enacted therein for the time to come, ‖ *In regard of the facility of evil-affected minds, and the forgetfulneſs of memory, this holy Synod hath ordained, that in every Council of the Biſhops of Spain, the Decree of the National Council which was made for the ſafety of our Princes, after all things are finiſhed in the Synod, ſhould with a publick voice be pronounced: that being often repreſented unto mens ears, even by this very*

* *Ab univerſo Clero & Populo dictum eſt, Qui contra hanc veſtram definitionem præſumpſerint, Anathema Maranatha, hoc eſt, perditio in adventum Domini ſint; & cum Juda Iſcarioth partem habeant, & ipſi & ſocii eorum. Amen.* Ibid.

† *Hæc noſtri Concilii communiter conſiderata defertur ſententia: ut ſervetis quæcunque in univerſali & magna Synodo proviſa conſcriptaque circa Principum ſalutem & utilitatem ſunt.* Ib. V. cap. 1.

‖ *Propter malarum mentium facilitatem & memoriæ oblivionem, hoc ſacratiſſima ſtatuit Synodus; ut in omni concilio Epiſcoporum Hiſpaniæ, univerſalis Concilii decretum quod propter Principum noſtrorum eſt ſalutem conſtitutum, per actis omnibus in Synodo, publica voce debeat pronunciari: quatenus ſæpe replicatum auribus, vel aſſiduitate iniquorum mens territa corrigatur, quæ ad prævaricandum & oblivione & facilitate perducitur.* Concil. Tolet. V. c. 7.

aſſiduity

assiduity the mind of evil men being terrified may be corrected, which by their forgetfulness and facility would otherwise be drawn to disloyalty. Whereunto in the X. Council of *Toledo*, this Canon also was afterwards added, for the deposition of such of the Clergy as should violate those Oaths that were generally taken for the preservation of the safety of the King and Country. * *Whereas both by the sanctions of certain decrees of the Fathers, and by Legal Constitutions it hath been provided, that none should attempt to devise any thing contrary to the safety of our Prince, Nation, or Country; this one thing is now added especially to be observed, that if any Religious person, from the Bishop unto the meanest of the Clerical or Monastical Order, shall be found with a profane intendment, to have violated those general Oaths that have been taken for the safety of the King, Nation, or Country, he shall be presently deprived of his dignity, and be excluded both from his place and honour;*

* *Cum & quorundam paternorum sanctionibus decretorum & institutionibus sit legalibus tantum, ne contra salutem Principum gentisque aut patriæ quisquam meditari conetur adversum: hoc unum specialiter nunc depromitur observandum, ut si quis Religiosorum, ab Episcopo usque ad extremum ordinis Clericorum sive Monachorum, generalia juramenta in salutem Regiam gentisque aut patriæ data reperiatur violasse voluntate profana, mox propriæ dignitate privatus, & loco & honore habeatur exclusus; eo miserationis obtentu tantummodo reservato, ut an locum, an honorem, an utraque possideat, concedendi jus licentiamque principalis potestas obtineat:* Concil. Toler. X. cap. 2.

honor; this hope of mercy being only reserved, that it shall be left in the power of the Prince, whether he shall repossess either his place or his honor, or both of them. Thus far the Fathers of *Toledo*.

The first we find that stiffly stood against the taking of these general Oaths of Fidelity, were the *Pharisees*, who being of *the strictest Sect* of the Jewish Religion, did indeed † *outwardly appear righteous unto men*, but within *were full of hypocrisie and iniquity*. Yet by this outward shew of Religion they gained such a reputation with the People, that ‖ *they were able by that means to do much hurt unto those that hated them, and to give great furtherance unto such as stood friendly affected toward them; being strongly believed by the multitude, even when for meer envy they did speak hardly of any man:* so far, that ∴ *if they did speak any thing against the King himself or against the High Priest, they were presently believed.* Of them thus writeth *Josephus*, * *These were called Pharisees, such as were able openly to pra-*

* Act. 26. 5.
† Mat. 23. 27, 28. with Luke 12. 1.

‖ Δυνάσθαι δὲ πολὺ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις τούτους ἔφασκε, βλάψαι τε μισοῦντας, καὶ φίλους διακειμένους ὠφελῆσαι μάλιστα γὰρ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ τῷ πλήθει περὶ ὧν ἂν καὶ φθονοῦντές τι χαλεπὸν λέγωσι. Alexander Rex, apud Josep. lib. 13. Antiq cap. 23. vide & c. seq. & lib. 18. c. 2.

∴ Τοσαύτην ἔχουσι τὴν ἰσχὺν παρὰ τῷ πλήθει, ὡς καὶ κατὰ τοῦ βασιλέως τι λέγοντες, καὶ κατὰ ἀρχιερέως, εὐθὺς πιστεύεσθαι.

* Φαρισαῖοι καλοῦνται, βασιλεῦσι δυνάμενοι μάλιστα ἀντιπράσσειν, προμηθεῖς, κᾶκ

ctise

τοῦ πρόπτου εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν τε καὶ βλάπτειν ἐπηρμένοι. Παντὸς οὖν τοῦ Ἰουδαϊκοῦ βεβαιώσαντος δι' ὅρκων ἢ μὴν εὐνοῆσαι Καίσαρι, καὶ τοῖς βασιλέως πράγμασι οἵδε οἱ ἄνδρες οὐκ ὤμοσ, ὄντες ὑπὲρ ἑξακισχίλιοι, καὶ αὐτοὺς βασιλέως ζημιώσαντος χρήμασιν, ἡ Φερώρου γυνὴ τὴν ζημίαν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν εἰσφέρει, &c. Joseph. l. 7. c. 3.

ctise against Kings; being very subtile, and presuming by their motions to raise War against them, and to annoy them. Whereas therefore all the Jews had by Oaths obliged their fidelity to Cæsar Augustus, *and to the estate of King* Herod, *these men would not swear at all, being above six thousand in number. Whereupon the King having imposed a fine upon them,* the Wife of *Pheroras* (*Herods* brother) *paid it for them. For which cause they intending to requite her kindness, and being esteemed by their intercourse with God to have obtained the knowledge of things to come, foretold her that God had determined to bring the Government of* Herod *and his posterity to an end, and that the Kingdom should be transferred to her and* Pheroras *and the children begotten of them both.* But *Herod,* having discovered the conspiracy of these false Prophets, put the principal contrivers thereof unto death, and all those of his houshold Servants that were of their Faction.

*Act. 7. 37.

Not long after these * *rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the taxing, and drew away much People after him*; but with

with the like ſucceſs: *for he alſo periſhed, and all, even as many as obeyed him, were diſperſed*; as is related by *Gamaliel* in the Acts of the Apoſtles. *This *Judas*, with *Sadduc* the Phariſee his aſſociate, ſolicited the People to rebellion; *alledging that the Taxing brought with it a plain confeſſion of their ſervitude, and exhorting them to maintain their liberty:* and brought in a new Sect among the *Jews*; the followers whereof did †*in all other things agree with the opinions of the Phariſees, but had a moſt conſtant love of liberty, accounting God alone to be their Prince and Lord. Inſomuch that they make little account of undergoing exquiſite kinds of deaths, or of the puniſhments of their Kinſfolks and Friends, rather than they would call any man their Lord.* Whereas, ou the other ſide, the *Eſſenes* would admit none to any near communion with their Sect, before he had firſt bound himſelf by a ſolemn Oath, ‖*ever to keep his Faith unto all,*

* Σαδδοῦκον Φαρισαῖον ὑποδεξαμένους, ἐπείγετο δὴ ἀποστάσει· τιλὼ τε ἀποτίμησιν οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ ἀνυπερβλὴς δουλείας ὀνειδίζειν λέγοντες, καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ὑπὲρ ἀνταγωνίζεσθαι παρακαλοῦντες τὸ ἔθνος. Joſeph. l. 18. Antiq. cap. 1.

†Τὰ μὲν λοιπὰ πάντα γνώμης ταῖς Φαρισαίων ὁμολογοῦσι, δυσκίνητος δὲ τὸ ἐλευθέρας ἕξεως ἔστιν αὐτοῖς, μόνον ἡγεμόνα καὶ δεσπότην τὸν Θεὸν ὑπειληφόσι. Θανάτων τε ἰδέας ὑπομένειν περιλλαγμένας ἐν ὀλίγῳ πάσης, καὶ συγγενῶν πυκείας καὶ φίλων, ὑπὲρ τὸ μηδένα ἄνθρωπον προσαγορεύειν δεσπότην. Id. lib. 18. cap. 2.

‖Τὸ πρῶτον εἰς παρέξειν πᾶσι, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς κρατοῦσιν, ὅταν δίκαια θεῖ· ἐπειδὰν τύχῃ τὸ ἄρχειν. Joſeph. lib. 2. Bell. Jud. cap. 12. (al. 17.)

but

but especially unto Princes; considering that no man doth attain to that power without Gods own appointment. And the People of the *Jews* generally had been so far this way instructed out of Gods Word, that when *Sejanus* intended his conspiracy against *Tiberius*, he first **endeavoured to remove this Nation out of the way: which he knew would either alone or most of all oppose his ungodly counsels and practices, for the endangering the life of the Emperor.* Whereupon commandment was given by *Tiberius* afterwards unto all the Presidents of the Provinces, that they should †*take into their protection, both the men themselves as persons of a peaceable disposition, and their Laws likewise as things much tending to the settlement of publick tranquillity.*

So, upon his death, the People of the *Jews* with the first took their ‖oath of fidelity to his Successor *Caius*; and offered ∴ solemn Sacrifices at the Temple of *Jerusalem* for his safety. Who are there-

* Σηϊανοῦ τὸ ἔθνος ἀναρπάσαι θέλοντος, ὅπερ ἢ μόνον ἢ μάλιστα ᾔδει βουλαῖς ἀνοσίοις καὶ πράξεσιν ἀντιβησόμενον, ὑπὲρ τοῦ παρασπονδηθῆναι κινδυνεύσαντος αὐτοκράτορος. Philo, in leg. ad Caium.

† Παραταθήκην ἔχειν τοὺς τῆς ἄνδρας ὡς εἰρηνικοὺς τὰς φύσεις, καὶ τὰ νομιμὰ ὡς ἀλείφοντα πρὸς εὐστάθειαν. Ibid.

‖ Ὄρκισε τὴν πληθὺν ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῇ Γαΐου. Joseph. Ant. l. 18. c. 7. de Vitellio Syriæ Præside, Hierosolymis tum agente.

∴ Πρῶτον τὸ ἡμέτερον ἱερὸν ἐδέξατο τὰς ὑπὲρ τῆς ἀρ-

therefore represented by King *Agrippa* to *Caius* himself as a Nation * *from the beginning most religiously and piously affected toward his Family. For in what things they may*, saith he, *and are permitted to do by the Laws of their Religion, they come no ways short of any People either of Asia or Europe, in Prayers, Erection of Donaries, and multitude of Sacrifices, not only in their publick celebrities, but also in their daily devotions. Whereby they do declare this pious respect of theirs, not so much with their mouth and tongue as with the willingness of their inward soul: not saying that they are the Friends of Cæsar, but being so in truth and in deed.* Thus *Agrippa* wrote unto *Caius*, being incensed against the *Jews* for not giving way to the dedicating his Statue in their Temple, with the title which he had assumed unto himself of NEW JUPITER. In the carriage of which unhappy business, it will not be amiss to consider that notable example of

τῆς Γαΐου δυσίας. Philo, legat. ad Caium.

Ἐβδόμῳ, καὶ ἑκατόμβας ἑβδόμῃ. ὧν τὸ αἷμα τῷ βωμῷ περιπεύσαντες πᾶν κρέας ἐκ τῆς δοῦναι καὶ ἐναγίσαι οἰκαδε ἐκομίσαμεν (οὐς ἔθος ἐνίοις ποιεῖν) ἀλλ' ὁλόκαυτα πρὸ ἱερεῖα ὡφιέντες τῇ ἱερᾷ φλογί. Ibid.

* Εὐσεβέστατα καὶ ὁσιώτατα προλαχείμῳον ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοὺς ἅπαντα ἡμῶν ἐγένετο οἶκον. Ἐν οἷς δ' ἔφεστι καὶ ἔξεσι μὴ νόμων ὑποτρέπειν, ὑπερβάλλουσι πάντας ἔθνη Ἀσιανῶν ἅτε πρὸς ἑσπέραν Εὐρώπην λείποντα τὸ παράπαν, συχναῖς, ἀναθημάτων κατασκευαῖς πλήθει θυσιῶν, οὐ μόνον ἐν ταῖς δημοτελέσι ἑορταῖς ἀναγραφόμεναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ταῖς καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐντελέχειαν· ἐξ ὧν οὐ στόμασι καὶ γλώσσῃ μαρτύρεται τὸ ὁσιότατον μᾶλλον ἢ ψυχῆς ἐφάνης βουλήμασιν, οὐ μὰ λέγοντες ὅτι φιλοκαίσαρές εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὄντες ὄντως. Ibid.

Passive obedience shewed at that time by this People.

The Inhabitants of *Jerusalem* and all the rest of the Country no sooner had notice of these woful tidings, but presently as one man, leaving their Towns. and Castles, and Houses, they presented themselves in *Phœnicia* before *Petronius* the President of *Syria*; unto whom *Caius* had committed the execution of this wicked command of his. Where the old men, young Folks and Boys distributed into three ranks, and the old Women, younger Women and Virgins, divided into three other, at one instant fell down unto the ground before the President, with a lamentable kind of howling. Being commanded to arise and to draw nearer, with much ado they did so; and being covered with dust, and beblubbered with tears, came with both their hands drawn behind their backs after the manner of condemned persons, causing their mind to be delivered by their Spokesmen to this effect, * *We are unarmed, as thou seest; though some did give out that we were come in an hostile manner. And our hands, the members which Nature hath given unto*

* Ἄοπλοι ἐσμὲν ὡς ὁρᾷς, παραγενομένους δὲ αἰτιῶνται τινες ὡς πολεμίους· ἃ δὲ ἡ φύσις ἑκάστῳ προσένειμεν ἀμυντήρια μέρη χεῖρας, ἀπεστρέφαμεν, ἔνθα μηδὲν ἐργά-

unto every man for his defence, we have put behind us, that they are able to do nothing: presenting our own bodies as a fair mark to be shot at, to those that have a mind to kill us. Our Wives and our Children, and our Families we have brought unto thee, and by thee do prostrate our selves before Caius; having left none at home, to the end that you might either save us all, or cut us off all by a common destruction. We hear that Foot and Horse Forces are prepared against us, if we give impediment to this Dedication. There is none so mad, that being a Servant he would oppose himself against his Master. We are ready to undergo our slaughter most willingly. Let them kill us, sacrifice us, cut us in pieces without fight or any loss of the least drop of their own bloud, let them put in execution whatsoever Conquerors use to do. This shall be our last Will, when we are dying; that neither God himself may find fault with us for having a respect to both these, the reverence we owe unto

σωθαι δυνωμεθ', παρέχοντες αὐτῶν τὰ σώματα σκοπὸς εὐσκόπους τῶν βελῶν ἀποκεῖσθαι βολάς. Γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ οἰκους ἐπηγορμίδα σοι, καὶ διὰ σὲ πεφωτίκαμεν Γάϊε, ἵνα ἢ σέσωσται πάντες ἢ πάντας ἀπωλέσῃς ἀδιαφθείρητε, &c. Πυνθανόμεθα πλὰς καὶ ἵππους δυνάμεις ἐντρέπεσθαι κατ' ἡμῶν εἰ σοὶ τῶν ἀναθέσιν ἐγκαίνιον· ἔστι δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔτω μαίνεται, ὃς δοῦλος ὢν ἐναντιοῦσθαι δεσπότῃ. Παρέχομεν ἑαυτοὺς εὐπειθῶς τὰς σφαγὰς ἀσμένως ὑπομένοντες, τεμνέτωσαν, κοπτέτωσαν, κερματιζέτωσαν καὶ ἀναιρείτωσαν πάντα ὅσα κατεργάζονται τοῖς ἡδρηκόσιν. Ἀποθνήσκοντων τὸ ἐπίταγμα γινέσθω μὴ μέντοι ἂν ἐκ θεοῦ πᾶσα ἀμφοτέρων σκοπούμενος, καὶ τῆς σοὶ καὶ αὐτοκράτορι εὐλαβείας, καὶ τῆς σοὶ τοῦ καθωσιωμένου ἡμῖν ὑποδοχῆς. Ibid.

our Prince, and the observance due unto our most sacred Law.

Petronius, at that time being not able to prevail with them, removed from *Ptolemais* to *Tiberias* in *Galilee*; where fifty days together were spent in the treaty of this matter: the *Jews* the mean while neglecting their seed-time, and * *crying out, that before their Law should be violated, they were ready to suffer any thing.* To whom *Petronius*, *Are you then minded to fight against Cæsar?* Their answer was, that *twice every day they did offer sacrifice for Cæsar and the People of Rome: but if he would needs erect those images, he must first offer the whole Nation of the Jews for a sacrifice; they being ready to present themselves to the slaughter, together with their Wives and Children.* With which carriage of theirs the President was so moved, that he staid the execution of the business: wherewith the Emperour was so highly offended, that he threatned death unto him, for being so slow in the performance of his commandments. But seven and twenty

* Πρὸς ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος πᾶν ἐβόα, πρὸ τοῦ νόμου πάσχειν ἑτοίμως ἔχειν, κατασείλαι δὲ ὁ Πετρώνιος αὐτοῦ τὴν βούλῃ, Πολεμήσετε, εἶπεν, ἄρα Καίσαρι; καὶ Ἰουδαῖοι, Περὶ μὲν Καίσαρος καὶ τοῦ δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων δὶς τῆς ἡμέρας θύειν ἔφασαν· εἰ δὲ βούλεται τὰς εἰκόνας ἐγκαθιδρύειν, πρότερον αὐτὸν δεῖν ἅπαν τὸ Ἰουδαίων ἔθνος προθύσασθαι· παρέχει δὲ σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἑτοίμους εἰς σφαγὴν, ἅμα τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξίν. Joseph. lib. 2. Bell. Jud. c. 17. (al. 9.)

ty days before thoſe minatory Letters came unto his hands, *Petronius* received others that certified him of the death of that bloudy Tyrant; who was ſo profeſſed an Enemy not only to the Jewiſh Nation, but alſo to his own, that he **wiſhed the People of Rome had but one neck*, that he might cut it off with one blow.

* *utinam populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet.* Suet. in C. Calligula, cap. 30. Dio. Hiſt. lib. 59. P. Oroſ. lib. 7. cap. 5.

There were living at that time three of the ſons of *Judas* of *Galilee*, *James*, *Simon*, and *Manahem*; who, no doubt, would not let ſlip ſuch an opportunity as this, to ſtir up thoſe ſeditious ſpirits that adhered unto their Fathers Sect, unto an open defection from the *Roman* Government. But ſure it is, that the † two former, for ſuch practices as theſe, were not long after crucified by *Tiberius Alexander* the *Roman* Governour. The third lived to be a chief Captain of the rebellious rout, that under pretence of recovering their Liberty, made that War againſt the *Romans* which brought themſelves and their Country unto utter ruine: *Agrippa* the King, and *Joſephus* the Prieſt labouring in vain to diſſuade them from thoſe ſeditious at-

† Joſeph. lib. 20. Antiq. c. 3.

tempts. For, said *Agrippa* to them, * *Now to desire Liberty is unseasonable: you ought at first to have striven, that you might not lose it; considering that the admittance of slavery is a heavy thing, and that it may not at all begin, is a just cause of War. But he who being once subdued doth afterwards revolt, sheweth himself to be a contumacious Servant, rather than a Lover of Liberty.* Which *Josephus* also put them in mind of afterward; that although † *it be a good and commendable thing to fight for Liberty, yet that was to be done in the beginning: but for those that were once brought into subjection, and for a long time had undergone the same, to shake off the yoke afterward, would be the part of those that were desirous of a shameful death, rather than of such as would be accounted the Lovers of Liberty.*

* Ἀλλὰ μὴν τόγε νῦν ἐλευθερίας ἐπιθυμεῖν ἄφρον· δέον ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀποβαλεῖν αὐτὴν ἀγωνίζεσθαι πρότερον· ἡ γὰρ πεῖρα τῆς δουλείας χαλεπὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ἄρξασθαι ταύτης ὁ ἀγὼν δίκαιος· ὃ δὲ ἅπαξ χειρωθεὶς ἔπειτα ἐφιστάμενος, αὐθάδης δοῦλός ἐστιν, οὐ φιλελευθέρος. Joseph. l.c. Bell. Jud. c. 28. (al. 16.)

† Εἰ γὰρ δὴ καὶ πολεμεῖν ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας καλὸν, χρῆναι τὸ πρῶτον τὸ δ' ἅπαξ ὑποπεσόντας, καὶ μακροῖς εἴξαντας χρόνοις, ἔπειτα ἀποσείεσθαι τὸ ζυγὸν δυσθανατώντων οὐ φιλελευθέρων εἶναι. Id. l. 6. c. 26. (al. 11.)

The prime ‖ foundation of this cruel War was laid by *Eleazar* the son of *Ananias* the High Priest; who, with his

‖ Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν τοῦ πρὸς Ῥωμαίους πολέμου καταβολή· τὴν γὰρ ὑπὲρ τούτων θυσίαν Καίσαρος ἀπέρριψαν, καὶ πολλὰ

his complices, rejected the ſacrifice that was to be offered for *Cæſar*, and with him for the *Romans*, notwithſtanding that divers of the chief Prieſts and others of the beſt eſteem did earneſtly requeſt them not to intermit that cuſtom of ſacrificing for their Governours; telling them that thereby, meerly **to provoke the Arms of the Romans, and* (as it were) *to wed a War from them, they had brought in a new kind of Religion: † it being to be feared, that ſuch as rejected the ſacrifices which were for them, ſhould be forbidden any more to ſacrifice for themſelves; and that the City of Jeruſalem ſhould be out lawed by the Empire, if quickly gathering their wits together they did not accept* Cæſars *ſacrifices, and rectifie this contumely before the fame thereof ſhould come unto thoſe whom they had wronged thereby.* The miſchief was brought to the full height by thoſe turbulent perſons, who aſſumed to themſelves the name of ‖Zelots: and did indeed, ſaith

τῆς τε ἀρχιερέων καὶ τῆς γερουσίας παρακαλούντων, μὴ καθαλιπεῖν τὸ ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς νομιζόμενον ἔθνος, ὑκ ἐνέδοσαν. Joſeph. l. 2. c. 30. (al. 17.)

* Αὐτικὰ γὰρ νῦν ἐρεθίζοντες τὰ Ῥωμαίων ὅπλα καὶ μηκέτ' ἀμύνειν τὸν ἀπ' ἐκείνων πόλεμον, καινοτομεῖν θρησκείαν ξένιον. Ibid.

† Δεδοικόσι μὲν ὅτι μὴ τὰς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ὑπορρίπτοντες θυσίας, κωλυθῶσι θύειν καὶ τὰ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῆς, ἡνίκα † ἐκπορθὸς τῆς ἡγεμονίας ἡ πόλις, εἰ μὴ ταχέως σοφρονήσαιεν ὑπαδύσει τὰς θυσίας, καὶ πρὶν ἐξελθεῖν ἐφ' ὃς ὑβρίκασι † φήμην, διορθώσονται † ὕβριν. Ibid.

‖ Τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκάλεσαν οἱς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς ὀπαδοῖς ἐπηκολούθησαν, ἀλλ' ἀζηλώτους τὰς τε κλήσεις τῆς ἔργων καταρξαμένους. Ibid. lib. 4. cap. 12. (al. 5.)

Josephus, * *by their works make good their name: for there was no evil work which they did not imitate, nor any evil practised within the memory of man, wherein they shewed not themselves Zealous: howsoever they took their name from such as were zealous in goodness.* But in the end they brought † desolation upon their City, ruine upon their Nation, and the ‖ severity of Gods just judgment upon themselves. *For as many punishments as it is possible for mans nature to endure, were heaped upon them, even to the last expiring of their life; which with variety of tortures they miserably finished.*

* Τὴν σεσημοσίαν τοῖς ἔργοις ἐπιλήθοντο· πᾶν γὰρ κακίας ἔργον ἐζημίωσαντο, μηδ' εἰπεῖν σεσεμνὸν ἁμαρτεῖν ἔδοξεν οὐ μνήμη παρέδωκεν, αὐτοὶ παρελπόντες ἀζήλωτον· καίτοι γε σεσημοσίαν αὐτοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ ζηλωτῶν ἐπέθηντο. Id. l. 7. c. 30. (al. 26.)

† Ἡ γὰρ τῶν ὅλων τοῦ ζηλωτοῦ ὀνείδους κατῆξεν ἁλώσεως τὴν πόλεν. Id. l. 6. c. 4.

‖ Περσῆκον ἔκαστοι τὸ τέλος ἔνεγκαν, τῷ Θεῷ γὰρ ἀξίαν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τιμωρίαν βεβούλευται· ὅσας γὰρ ἀνθρώπῳ δυνατὸν φύσις κολάσεις ὑπομεῖναι, πᾶσιν κατέσχον εἰς αὐτοὺς, μέχρι καὶ τῆς ἐσχάτης τοῦ βίου τελευτῆς, ἐν ταῖς μεγίσταις ἐν πολυτρόποις αἰκίαις ἐκπνέοντες. Id. l. 7. c. 30.

The tail of this smoaking Firebrand was kindled afterward by that Captain of the *Jewish* Rebellion, who named himself *Barcochebas*, the *Son of the Star*, (as if that part of *Balaams* Prophesie, * *There shall come a Star out of Jacob*, had been meant of him) but was by the *Jews* when they found their expectation deceived by him, termed *Barcozba*, the *Son of a Lie*. This lewd Impostor,

* Num. 24. 17.

* be-

* because he could not draw the Christians from their Allegiance, nor persuade them to join arms with the *Jewish* Faction against the power of the *Romans*, inflicted all the tortures upon them that he could devise. For the Heresie *of Judas of Galilee* had by this time fully possessed the *Jews*; a People who † *neither pleased* God, and were contrary to all men; not only ‖ *denying that they were any way tied by the Roman Laws*, but also accounting it a *crime* to obey them. and now the spirit of Obedience did pass from the * *Synagogue* of those *which say they are Jews, and are not* to the *Church* † *of the living God*, which did so wait for the Kingdom hoped for at the glorious appearing of our Saviour Jesus Christ, that it detracted nothing in the mean time from that subjection our Lord himself, both by his precept and example, had prescribed to be given by his Followers unto all earthly Kings and Governours.

* *Cochebas dux Judaicæ factionis nolentes sibi Christianos adversum Romanum militem ferre subsidium, omnimodis cruciatibus necat.* Euseb. in Chronico. Vid. & P. Oros. Hist. l. 7. c. 13.

† 1 Thess. 2. 15.

‖ *Cum ipsi Romanis legibus teneri se negent, ita ut crimina legere putent; nunc velut Romanis legibus se vindicandos putent?* Ambros. lib. 5. Epist. 29.

* Rev. 2. 9. & 3. 9.

† 1 Tim. 3. 15.

And yet were the *Pagans* so mistaken

ken herein that, **when they heard the Christians did expect a Kingdom, they undiscreetly supposed that they meant a worldly one, not that which hereafter they should have with God,* at the second coming of our Saviour. Which the Emperour *Domitian* is therefore said to have no less †*feared*, than *Herod* did the first. Whereupon he caused some that remained of the kindred of our Lord according to the Flesh to be presented before him, who being ‖*demanded touching Christ and his Kingdom, what kind of thing it was, and when and where it should appear, they returned for answer, that it was neither worldly nor earthly, but Cœlestial and Angelical; and that it should be at the consummation of the World, when that he coming in glory shall judge the quick and the dead, and render unto every man according unto his works.* Upon which it is said, that *Domitian* condemned

* Ὑμᾶς, ἀκέσαντες βασιλείαν προσδοκῶντας ἡμᾶς, ἀκριτῶς ἀνθρώπινον λέγειν ἡμᾶς ὑπειλήφατε, ἡμῶν τῶν μὴ Θεὸν λεγόντων. Justin. Martyr. pro Christianis Apolog. 2.

† Ἐφοβεῖτο γὰρ πάλαι παρουσίαν τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὡς καὶ Ἡγήσιππος. Hegesippus apud Euseb. lib. 3. Hist. Eccles. cap. 20.

‖ Ἐρωτηθέντας δὲ περὶ τοῦ Χριστοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ, ὁποία τις εἴη, καὶ πότε, καὶ ποῦ φανησομένη, λόγον δοῦναι, ὡς οὐ κοσμικὴ μὲν οὐδ' ἐπίγειος, ἐπουράνιος δὲ καὶ ἀγγελικὴ τυγχάνει· ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τοῦ αἰῶνος ἥξουσαν, ὅτε κρινεῖ ζῶντας καὶ νεκροὺς καὶ ἀποδώσει ἑκάστῳ κατὰ τὰ ἔργα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ. Ἐφ' οἷς μηδὲν αὐτοὺς κατεγνωκέναι τὸν Δομετιανὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς εὐτελῶν καταφρονήσαντα, ἐλευθέρους μὲ αὐτοὺς ἀνεῖναι, καταπαῦσαί τε διὰ προστάγματος τὸν κατὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διωγμόν. Id. ibid.

ned them not, but deſpiſing them as mean perſons, did both let them go free, and by Edict ſtaid the perſecution then raiſed againſt the Church.

But our Saviour himſelf had long ſince reſolved this doubt in that * *good confeſſion* which he *witneſſed before Pontius Pilate*; when he plainly declared, that † his *Kingdom was not of this world.* Whereupon S. *Auguſtin* maketh this loud Proclamation, ‖ *Hear Jews and Gentiles, hear Circumciſion, hear Uncircumciſion, hear all Kingdoms upon Earth. I do not hinder your Government in this World: My Kingdom is not of this World:* and then biddeth them, * *not to fear with that moſt vain fear wherewith Herod was ſo troubled, when news was brought him that Chriſt was born, and killed ſo many Infants, that death might come upon him; being made more cruel by fearing than by being angry.* Of whom *Maximus Taurinenſis* alſo thus, *The King was troubled, fearing, I believe, his Kingdom ſhould be touched: not know-*

* 1 Tim 6.13.

† Joh. 18. 36.

‖ *Audite Judei & Gentes, audi Circumciſio, audi Præputium, audite omnia regna terrena. Non impedio dominationem veſtram in hoc mundo: Regnum meum non eſt de hoc mundo.* Auguſt. in Evang. Johan. tract. 115.

* *Nolite metuere metu veniſſimo, quo Herodes ille major, cum Chriſtus natus nunciaretur, expavit, & tot infantes, ut ad eum mors perveniret, occidit; timendo magis quam iraſcendo crudelior.* Id. ibid.

† *Turbatur Rex, regno (credo) metuens ſuo: neſcius quia Chriſtus non venitbat regnum ejus invadere, ſed ſalvare; & quod nulli inferret mor-*

tem qui est vita cunctorum. Maxim. Taurin. homil. 4. in Epiph. Dom. See the Book of the Religion of the ancient *Irish*, toward the end of the XI. chap.

knowing that Christ came not to invade his Kingdom, but to save it; and that he intended not to bring death upon any, who is the life of all men.

And whereas after the ascension of our Saviour, there had been * *a great fame spread abroad, which charged his Apostles with sedition and innovation, as if they had directed all their actions* and speeches to the subversion of the common Laws; S. *Paul* therefore was very careful to † *give order to the Church of God, that without making any opposition to secular Princes and Powers, in quietness and tranquillity of life, it should exercise the work of Justice and Piety.* For *if we should admit, for example* (saith *Origen*) *that such as believed in Christ would not be subject to the secular Powers, nor render tribute, nor pay customs, nor give fear or honor unto any: should not they by this means deservedly*

* Καὶ γὰρ πολὺς περιεφέρετο λόγος τότε, ὅτι στάσει καὶ καινοτομίᾳ διαβάλλων τοὺς ἀποστόλους, καὶ ὡς ἐπ' ἀνατροπῇ τῶν κοινῶν νόμων ἅπαντα καὶ ποιοῦντας καὶ λέγοντας. Chrysost. in Epist. ad Rom. hom. 23.

† *Ordinat quidem per hæc Paulus Ecclesiam Dei, ut nihil adversi Principibus & potestatibus seculi gerens, per quietem & tranquillitatem vitæ opus justitiæ & pietatis exerceat. Si enim ponamus verbi gratia, credentes Christo potestatibus seculi non esse subjectos, tributa non reddere, nec vectigalia pensitare, nulli timorem, nulli honorem deferre; nonne per hæc Rectorum & Principum merito in semetipsos arma converterent; & persecutores quidem suos excusabiles, semetipsos vero culpabiles redderent? Non enim jam fidei sed contumaciæ causa impugnari viderentur: & esset eis causa quædam mortis, meritum vero mortis indignum.* Orig. l. 9. in Ep. ad Rom. c. 13.

vedly turn the Arms of Governours and Princes against themselves, and thereby make their Persecutors excusable, but themselves culpable? For now it would appear that they were impugned, not for their Faith, but for their Contumacies sake, and to have a cause indeed of death, but a merit of death very unworthy of their Profession.

Which Apostolical Lesson the Christians which endured the brunt of the first Ten Persecutions, had learned so exactly, that none in the whole World were found so dutiful unto their Princes as they: as appeareth both by their known practice, and their own professions in their publick Apologies. * *For if we did expect an earthly Kingdom,* saith *Justin Martyr* to the Emperour *Antonius, we would deny our Religion, that we might escape death; and we would labour to conceal our selves, that we might attain our expectation. But because we have not our hopes fixed upon the things of this life, we care nothing for those that slay us; being otherwise assured that we must certainly die. And as for the preservation of*

* Εἰ γὰρ ἀνθρώπινον βασιλείαν προσεδοκῶμεν, κἂν ἠρνούμεθα ὅπως μὴ ἀναιρῶμεθα, καὶ λανθάνειν ἐπειρώμεθα ὅπως τῶν προσδοκωμένων τύχωμεν· ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ οὐκ εἰς τὸ νῦν τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχομεν, ἀναιρούντων οὐ πεφροντίκαμεν, τοῦ καὶ πάντως ἀποθανεῖν ὀφειλομένου. Ἀρωγοὶ δι' ὑμῶν καὶ σύμμαχοι πρὸς εἰρήνην ἐσμὲν πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων. Justin. Mart. Apol. 2.

of Peace, we yield to you more help and assistance than all other men. And for † *Tributes and Collections, we endeavour every where before all others, to bring them in unto the Officers appointed under you: as we have been taught by our Lord himself,* commanding us to give unto *Cæsar* the things that are *Cæsars. Whence we worship indeed God alone, but in other things we chearfully do service unto you, acknowledging you to be the Kings and Princes of men.* So *Theophilus* Bishop of *Antioch,* † *Honour the King, honour him by wishing well unto him, by being subject unto him, and by praying for him. For in doing thus thou shalt do the will of God: for the Law of God saith, My son, honour God and the King; and be disobedient to neither of them.* || And again, *the Word of God commandeth us to be subject to Principalities and Powers, and to pray for them, that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life.* So likewise *Athenagoras,* in his Apology to *M. Aurelius* and his Son *Commodus,*

* Φόρους δὲ καὶ εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ὑφ' ὑμῶν τεταγμένοις πανταχοῦ πρὸ πάντων πειρώμεθα φέρειν ὡς ἐδιδάχθημεν παρ' αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ] &c. ὅθεν Θεὸν μὲν μόνον προσκυνοῦμεν, ὑμῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα χαίροντες ὑπηρετοῦμεν βασιλεῖς καὶ ἄρχοντες ἀνθρώπων ὁμολογοῦντες. Id. ibid.

† Τὸν βασιλέα τίμα, τίμα εὐνοῶν αὐτῷ, ὑποτασσόμενος αὐτῷ, εὐχόμενος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῦτο γὰρ ποιῶν, ποιεῖς τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Θεοῦ λέγει γὰρ ὁ νόμος. Τίμα, υἱέ, τὸν Θεὸν καὶ βασιλέα, καὶ μηδενὶ αὐτῶν ἀπειθὴς ἦς. Theophil. ad Autolyc. l. 1.

|| Ἔτι μὴν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἐξουσίαις, καὶ εὔχεσθαι ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, κελεύει ἡμῖν ὁ θεῖος λόγος, ὅπως ἤρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διάγωμεν. Id. lib. 3.

dus, having declared that the Christians were * *of all others most piously and justly disposed toward God and their Empire; and wished them* † *to make enquiry touching their life, doctrine, observance and obedience toward them, together with their House and Empire*; concludeth his whole discourse with this profession, ‖ *We pray for your Empire that the Son (as it is most just) may in the Kingdom succeed the Father, and that your Empire may increase and flourish, all being made subject unto you; which would be much for our good; that we, leading a quiet and peaceable life, may readily obey you in all your commands.*

Tertullian is full to the same purpose; * *Thou that thinkest* we have no care of the safety of *Cæsar*, look into the Word of God, I mean our Books, which neither we our selves do suppress, and many chances bring to Foreigners. Know, that by them we are

* Πάντων εὐσεβέστατα διακειμένους καὶ δικαιότατα πρὸς τὸ θεῖον καὶ τὴν ὑμετέραν βασιλείαν. Athenag. legat. pro Christian.

† Πρὸς ὑμῶν λοιπὸν, ἐξέτασιν ποιήσασθαι βίου, δογμάτων τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν σπουδῆς καὶ ὑπακοῆς. Ibid.

‖ Περὶ μὲν τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐχόμεθα, ἵνα τῷ μὲν παρὰ πατρὸς κατὰ τὸ δικαιότατον διαδέχηται τὴν βασιλείαν, αὔξησιν δὲ καὶ ἐπίδοσιν ἡ ἀρχὴ ὑμῶν, πάντων ὑποχειρίων γιγνομένων, λαμβάνῃ· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ καὶ πρὸς ἡμῶν, ὅπως ἥρεμον καὶ ἡσύχιον βίον διαγοιμεν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάντα τὰ κεκελευμένα προθύμως ὑπηρετοῖμεν. Ib.

* *Qui putas nihil nos de salute Cæsarum curare, inspice Dei voces, literas nostras; quas neque ipsi supprimimus, & plerique casus ad extraneos transferunt. Scito ex illis præceptum esse nobis, ad redundantiam benignitatis etiam pro inimicis Deum orare, & persecutoribus nostris bona precari. Qui magis ini-*

com-

commanded for the ſhewing the redundancy of our charity to pray unto God even for our enemies, and to wiſh well unto our Perſecutors. Now who are more enemies and perſecutors of Chriſtians than they, the neglect of whoſe Majeſty we are brought to anſwer for as a Crime? But beſide, *by name and expreſly*, Pray, *ſaith the Scripture*, for Kings and for Princes and Powers, that all things may be peaceable. *For together with you is the Empire ſhaken: and the reſt of the members thereof being ſo ſhaken, ſurely we alſo (although eſteemed ſtrangers from ſuch troubles) will be found partakers of that fall.* And * *therefore do we ſacrifice for the ſafety of the Emperor, but to our God and his, and in ſuch ſort as God himſelf hath commanded with pure prayer. So that we pray for the Emperours ſafety more than you, asking it of him who is able to give it.* And again, † *We pray for Emperours, for their Officers and Magiſtrates. For the Emperours*

mici & perſecutores Chriſtianorum, quam de quorum majeſtate convenimur in crimin? Sed etiam nominatim atque manifeſtè, Orate, inquit, pro Regibus & pro Principibus & proceſtatibus, ut omnia tranquilla ſint. Vobiſcum enim concutitur imperium: concuſſis etiam cæteris membris ejus, utique & nos (licet extranei à turbis æſtimemur) in aliquo loco caſus invenimur. Tertul. Apol. c. 31, 32.

* *Itaque & ſacrificamus pro ſalute Imperatoris, ſed Deo noſtro & ipſius: ſed quomodo præcepit Deus, puræ prece, &c. Ita nos magis oramus pro ſalute Imperatoris, ab eo eam poſtulantes qui præſtare poteſt.* Id. ad Scapulam c. 2.

† *Oramus etiam pro Imperatoribus, pro miniſtris eorum & poteſtatibus.* Idem in Apolog. c. 39.

perours * ſafety we call upon the eternal God, the true God, the living God; whom the Emperours themſelves would wiſh before all others ſhould be propitious unto them. They know who gave them their Empire, and they know, as they are men, who gave them their Soul: they underſtand that he only is God, in whoſe power alone they are. † Having our arms therefore thus ſpread out unto God, let the Hooks tear us, the Croſſes hang us, the Fires lick us up, the Swords cut our throats, the Beaſts leap upon us: the poſture of a Chriſtian praying is prepared for all kind of torment. Go to now, you good Preſidents, wreſt out the ſoul that is a ſupplicating for the Emperour.

* *Nos pro ſalute Imperatorum Deum invocamus æternum, Deum verum, Deum vivum, quem & ipſi Imperatores propitium ſibi præter cæteros malunt. Sciunt quis illis dederit imperium, ſciunt qua homines, quis & animam: ſentiunt eum Deum eſſe ſolum, in cujus ſolius poteſtate ſunt.* Id. ib. c. 30.

† *Sic itaque nos ad Deum expanſos ungulæ fodiant, cruces ſuſpendant, ignes lambant, gladii guttura detruncent, beſtiæ inſiliant: paratus eſt ad omne ſupplicium habitus oratis Chriſtiani. Hoc agite, boni Præſides, extorquete animam Deo ſupplicantem pro Imperatore.* Ibid.

And with what invincible conſtancy they endured this *Cruelty* (‖which they accounted their *Glory*) without any thought of revenge or reſiſtance to the authority placed over them, howſoever they had power enough to meet with their Perſecutors, the ſame Authour thus elegantly declares; *We*

‖ *Crudelitas veſtra gloria eſt noſtra.* Tertullian. ad Scapulam. c. ult.

Circa majestatem Imperatoris infamamur: tamen nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani inveniri potuerunt Christiani; sed iidem ipsi, qui per Genios eorum in pridie usque juraverunt, qui pro salute eorum hostias & sectrant & voverant, qui Christianos sæpe damnaverant, hostes eorum sunt reperti, &c. Et utique ex disciplina patientiæ divinæ agere nos, satis manifestum esse vobis potest, cum tanta hominum multitudo, pars pene major civitatis cujusque in silentio & modestia agimus; singuli forte magis noti quam omnes, nec aliunde noscibiles, quam de emendatione vitiorum pristinorum. Absit enim ut indigne feramus ea nos pati quæ optamus, aut ultionem à nobis aliquam machinemur, quam à Deo expectamus. Id. Ibid. cap. 2.

* *are defamed touching the Imperial Majesty: and yet were Christians never found to be Albinians, Nigrians, or Cassians;* (relating to *Clodius Albinus, Pescennius Niger*, and *Avidius Cassius*, who rebelled against the Emperours of his time) *but the same men that the very day before did swear by the Genius of the Emperor, that offered up and vowed sacrifices for their safety, that had often condemned the Christians were found to be their enemies. And that we indeed do carry our selves according to that lesson which we have learned of divine patience, hereby it may be manifest enough unto you, that being so great a multitude of men, the greater part almost of every City, we behave our selves silently and modestly; being perhaps better known severally than jointly, nor otherwise discernable but by the amendment of our former Vices. For God forbid that we should take those things in evil part which we desire to suffer, or plot any revenge from our selves, which we expect from the hand of God.* Otherwise

* one

one night, with a few firebrands, would yield us ſufficient revenge, if it were lawful with us to expunge evil with evil. But God forbid that the followers of the divine Religion ſhould either revenge themſelves with human fire, or be grieved to ſuffer that wherein they are tried. And had we been minded to profeſs open hoſtility, and not to practiſe hidden revenge, could we want number of men or force of Arms? Are the Moors, and the Marcomans, and the Parthians themſelves, or any one particular Nation whatſoever, more in number than we that are ſpread over the whole World? We are not of you, and yet we have filled all you have; your Cities, Iſlands, Caſtles, Towns, Aſſemblies, your very Tents, Tribes, and Wards, yea the Palace, Senate and place of Judgment. Your Temples alone we leave unto your ſelves. For what War wete not we able and ready, though we were fewer in num-

* *Quando vel una nox paucis faculis largitatem ultionis poſſet operari, & malum malo diſpungi penes nos licuret. Sed abſit ut aut igni humano vindicentur divina ſecta, aut doleat pati in quo probatur. Si enim & hoſtes exertos, non tantum vindices occultos, agere vellemus, deeſſet nobis vis numerorum & copiarum? Plures nimirum Mauri & Marcomani, ipſique Parthi, vel quantacunq; unius tamen loci & ſuorum finium gentes quam totius orbis? Externi ſumus, & veſtra omnia implevimus, urbes, inſulas, caſtella, municipia, concilibula, caſtra ipſa, tribus, decurias, palatium, ſenatum, forum. Sola vobis relinquimus Templa. Cui bello non idonei, non prompti fuiſſemus, etiam impares copiis, qui tam libenter trucidamur? ſi non apud iſtam diſciplinam magis occidi liceret quam occidere. Potuimus & inermes, nec rebelles ſed tantum nos odio diſcordes, ſolius divortii invidia adverſus vos dimicaſſe. Si enim tanta vis hominum in aliquem orbis remoti ſinum abrupiſſemus à vobis, ſuffudiſſet utique dominationem veſtram tot qualiumcunq; amiſſi civium, imo etiam & ipſa deſtitutione puniſſet. Procul dubio expaviſſetis ad ſolitudinem veſtram ad ſilentium rerum & ſtuporem quendam*

Quasi mortuæ urbis quæsissetis quibus in ea imperassetis. Plures hostes quam cives vobis remansissent: nunc enim pauciores hostes habetis præ multitudine Christianorum pene omnium civium, pene omnes cives Christianos habendo. Tertull. in Apol. c. 37. vide etiam c. 49, & 50.

ber than you, that go to our Martyrdom so gladly; if it were not more lawful in our Religion to be slain, than to slay? We could without arms, never rebelling, but onely dividing our selves from you, have done you spite enough with that separation. For if so great a multitude of men as we are should have broken out from you into some corner of the World, the loss of so many Citizens would have shamed you, yea, and by the very destitution punished you. Without all peradventure you would have been afraid to see your selves left solitary; and in that silence of things, and kind of amazement of a dead City, you would have sought whom you might rule in it. More enemies would have remained unto you than Citizens: where now you have fewer enemies by reason of the multitude of your Citizens, that are almost all Christians.

And yet, saith *Origen*, *When we do nothing contrary to the Law and Word of God, we are not so mad nor furious as to stir up against our selves the wrath of the King, or the Magistrate, which would bring upon*

* Ἔνθα μὲν τοι οὐδὲν ἐναντίον πράττομεν νόμῳ καὶ λόγῳ Θεοῦ ου μημηνάμεν, οὐδ' ὁρμῶμεν καθ' ἑαυτῶν ἐγείρειν βασιλέως ἢ δυνάστου θυμὸν, ἐπὶ αἰκίας καὶ βασανιστήρια ἢ καὶ θανάτους ἡμᾶς φέροντα, ἀνέγνωμεν γὰρ καὶ τὸ, Πᾶσα

upon us blows, torments, and divers kinds of death. For we have read that which is written, Let every ſoul be ſubject unto the higher powers: for there is no power but of God; and the powers that be, are ordained of God. *They therefore that oppoſe the power, do oppoſe the ordinance of God.* But when without any oppoſition to this power, the Chriſtian for the preſervation of a good Conſcience ſubmitteth himſelf thereunto, ready to endure any torments rather than on either ſide to violate the duty impoſed upon him by his God; the leſs he ſeeketh to right himſelf therein, the more will he to whom vengeance belongeth aſſume the cauſe into his own hand. Which maketh S. *Cyprian* thus boldly to deliver his mind unto *Demetrianus*, the cruel proſecutor of Gods Saints in *Africa*; * *Leave off to hurt the Servants of God and Chriſt by thy Perſecutions; whom being hurt the Divine vengeance doth defend. For hence it is that none of us when he is apprehended*

ψυχὴ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτασσέσθω· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐξουσία εἰ μὴ ἀπὸ Θεοῦ, αἱ δὲ οὖσαι ἐξουσίαι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ τεταγμένοι εἰσὶν ὥστε οἱ ἀντιτασσόμενοι τῇ ἐξουσίᾳ, τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ διατάξει ἀνθίστανται. Origen. lib. 8. contra Celſum.

* *Ledere ſervos Dei & Chriſti perſecutionibus tuis deſine, quos læſos ultio Divina defendit. Inde eſt enim quod nemo noſtrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur: nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam, quamvis nimius & copioſus noſter ſit populus, ulciſcitur. Patientis facit de futura ultione ſecuritas,* Cyprian. de Demetrian.

doth reſiſt, or revenge himſelf againſt your unjuſt violence, although the number of our People be exceeding great. The confidence we have, that God will hereafter avenge us, doth make us patient: to the returning of which vengeance the Lord is the ſooner moved, when he doth find at the ſame time the Perſecuted labouring with him for the welfare of their Perſecutors. For * *we*, ſaith *Cyprian* there, *day and night continually and inſtantly do pray, propitiating and appeaſing God for your peace and ſafety.* And † *to him we pour inceſſant prayers for the reign of* Valerianus *and* Galienus, *that it may continue unſhaken*, ſaith *Dionyſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria.* ‖ *For thy ſafety have I always worſhipped Chriſt, and for the ſtate of the Roman Empire have I always adored him who is in heaven*; ſaith S. *Sebaſtian* unto the Emperor *Diocleſian:* and again, ∴ *The Prieſts of the Temples do poſſeſs the minds of your Majeſties with moſt unjuſt ſurmiſes, ſuggeſting falſe tales, as if they*

* *Pro pace ac ſalute veſtra propitiantes ac placantes Deum, diebus ac noctibus jugiter atque inſtanter oramus.* Cypr. ad Demet.

† Καὶ τότῳ Διωνυσίῳ ὑπὲρ τῆ βασιλείας αὐτῶν (Οὐαλεριανῦ καὶ Γαλιήνυ) ὅπως ἀσάλευτος διαμένῃ. Dion. Alexand. advert. German. apud Euſeb. l. 7. hiſt. Eccleſ. c. 11.

‖ *Pro ſalute tua ſemper Chriſtum colui: & pro ſtatu orbis Romani illum qui in cœlis eſt ſemper adoravi.* Act. S. Sebaſtiani; apud Surium, Januar. 20. & Vincent. Bellovacenſ. in Specul. hiſt. l. 12. c. 18.

∴ *Iniquiſſimis ſubreptionibus animos imperii veſtri templorum Pontifices obſident, ſuggerentes de Chriſtianis falſa commenta, tanquam*

they were adverſaries to the Common-wealth: whereas by their prayers the Common-wealth is bettered and increaſed: for they ceaſe not to pray for your Empire, and for the ſafety of the Roman Army.

illi ſint Reipublicæ adverſarii: cum illorum orationibus Reſpublica in melius proficiat & creſcat: non enim ceſſant pro imperio veſtro & pro ſalute Romani exercitus orare. Ib.

And here, under thoſe cruel Emperors *Diocleſian* and *Maximian* (in whoſe Army S. *Sebaſtian* ſerved) that moſt illuſtrious example of Paſſive obedience preſenteth it ſelf unto our view, which the *Thebæan* Legion ſhewed, conſiſting of 6666. valiant Chriſtians. The tenth man of whom, when *Maximian* had cauſed to be executed for refuſing to offer ſacrifice unto his falſe Gods, *Mauricius* taking the reſt of the Legion aſide, uſed this oration unto them: as *Eucherius* Archb. of *Lions* relateth in the Acts of their Martyrdom. * *I congratulate your Virtue, moſt worthy fellow-Souldiers, that, for the love of Religion, the command of* Cæſar *wrought no fear at all in you. You have ſeen your fellow Souldiers, in a manner with rejoicing minds, to have been delivered up unto a glorious death. How did I fear*

* *Gratulor virtuti veſtræ, comm. litones optimi, quod amore religionis nullam vobis Cæſaris præceptum attulit formidinum. Gaudentibus quodammodo animis tradi ad necem glorioſam commilitones veſtros vidiſtis. Quam timui ne quiſquam, quod armatis facile eſt, ſpecie defenſionis beatiſſimis funeribus manus afferre tentaret! Jam mihi ad hujus rei Interdictum Chriſti*

nostri parabatur exemplum, qui extemptum vagina Apostoli gladium propriæ vocis jussione recondidit: docens, majorem armis omnibus Christianæ confidentiæ esse virtutem. Hic Deus Christus plane mentes vestras manusque prohibuit; ne quisquam Divino operi mortalibus dextris obsisteret, quinimo cœpti operis fidem pereuntis religione compleret. Hactenus exempla sacris inserta codicibus legebamus: jam nunc per nosmet ipsos, quos sequi debeamus, adspeximus, &c. Eucher. Lugd. in Act. Mart. Agaunensium (tom. 5. Surii, Sept. 22.)

left any of you (as it was easie for armed men to do) under pretence of defence should by lifting up his hands give interruption to their most blessed funerals! I had now ready at hand, for the forbidding of this attempt, the example of our Christ, who by the command of his own mouth put up the sword which was unsheathed by his Apostle: teaching thereby, that the virtue of Christian confidence is greater than all weapons. Here Christ our God did clearly prohibit your minds and hands; that none with mortal arm should resist the Divine work, but rather with ever continued Religion add a consummation to the work begun. Hitherto we have read examples inserted into the Holy Scriptures: but even now we our selves have beheld, whom we ought to imitate.

Then, when *Maximinian* had commanded that a second decimation should be made of those that remained, *Exuperius*, taking into his hands the Ensigns of his Legion, spake thus unto them,

* *Tenere me, commilitones optimi, sæcularium quidem bello-*

* *My most worthy fellow-Souldiers, I hold, as you see, the Ensigns*

ſigns of a ſecular Warfare: but to theſe arms I provoke you not; I excite not your courage and your valor to ſuch wars as theſe. Another kind of fight is to be choſen by us. It is not by theſe ſwords that you can make your way to the kingdom of heaven: and afterwards wiſheth this meſſage ſhould be returned unto the perſecuting Emperour, **We are thy Souldiers indeed, but withal (which we freely profeſs) Gods ſervants. To thee we owe our imployment in the War, to him our innocence: from thee have we received the reward of our labour; to him we are beholden for the beginning of our life. We cannot ſo follow thee in this, though our Prince, as to deny God who is our Maker, and (whether thou wilt or wilt not) is thine alſo.*

rum ſigna perſpicitis; ſed non ad hæc arma provoco; non ad hæc bella animos veſtros virtutemque compello. Aliud nobis genus eligendum eſt præliorum. Non per hos gladios poteſtis ad regna cœleſtia præparare. Ibid.

* *Milites ſumus, Imperator, tui: ſed tamen ſervi (quod libere fatemur) Dei. Tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam. A te ſtipendium laboris accepimus; ab illo vitæ exordium ſumpſimus. Sequi Imperatorem in hoc nequaquam poſſumus, ut authorem noſtrum negemus Deum; authorem, velis nolis, tuum.*

After this, in *Adoes* Martyrology there are many other paſſages interſerted; and in the end this, *Non nos vel hæc ultimæ vitæ neceſſitas in rebellionem cogit. As for us, even this neceſſity of our laſt life doth not drive us to rebellion.* But it followeth in *Eucherius*, *Deſpair*

* *it*

* Non nos adversum te, Imperator, armavit ipsa, quæ fortissima est in periculu, desperatio. Tenemus ecce arma, & non resistimus: quia mori magis quam vincere volumus; & innocenter interire quam noxii vivere præoptamus. Si quid in nos ultra statueris, ignem, tormenta, ferrum; subjici parati sumus. Christiani sumus, persequi Christianos non possumus. Inexpugnabiles legionis istius animos, Cæsar, agnosce. Tela projicimus: exarmatas quidem dexteras satelles tuus, sed armatum fide Catholica pectus invenient. Occide, prosterne: scandas gladiis persecutoribus cervices præbemus intrepidi. Ibid.

* it self, O Emperour, which most strengthens men in dangers, hath not been able to arm us against thee. Behold we have our weapons, and yet resist not: as willing rather to die than overcome, and choosing rather to perish innocent, than live Traitors. If to what already thou hast decreed against us, thou wilt add more, be it Fire, or Torture, or the Sword, we are ready for it. We are Christians, and such as our selves we cannot persecute. Consider, O Cæsar, the courage of this Legion. Our weapons we cast away: and thy Executioner shall find our hands unarmed, but our breasts he shall find armed with the Catholick Faith. Kill us, down with us: without all fear we offer our necks to be cut off by the Swords that are appointed to slay us. And so † were they all put to the Sword, not any way gainsaying or resisting; but with their weapons laid down, giving their necks, and offering their throats or naked bodies unto the Persecutors.

† Cædebantur itaque passim gladiis, non reclamantes saltem aut repugnantes, sed & depositis armis cervices persecutoribus præbentes, & jugulum vel intectum corpus offerentes. Adonis Mart. X. Cal. Octob.

Not unlike was the case of the Martyrs that afterwards suffered under *Sapor* King of *Persia:* in whose name

Joseph

Joſeph anſwered thus to *Zeroth* that ſate in judgment upon him, **We have given up our ſelves like ſheep unto the ſlaughter; as having learned to be ſubject to all higher powers.* And that Chriſts Church militant in general had very well learned this Leſſon of Paſſive obedience, that place of S. *Auguſtine* may ſufficiently declare unto us, † *Neither then did the City of Chriſt, although as yet it were a pilgrim upon earth but had Armies nevertheleſs of great Peoples appertaining unto it, fight for their temporal ſafety againſt their wicked Perſecutors; but rather, that it might obtain eternal happineſs, made no reſiſtance at all. They were bound, they were ſhut up in priſon, they were beaten, they were tortured, they were burned, they were ſlaughtered, they were cut in pieces; and yet were multiplied:* together with the teſtimony of *Lactantius*; who was himſelf an eye-witneſs of that terrible Perſecution raiſed by *Dioclesian* and *Maximian.* ‖ *Whereas we ſuffer ſuch terrible things, we do*

* *Nos enim nos ipſos tanquam oves tradidimus ad occiſionem; ut qui didicerimus eſſe ſubjecti omnibus poteſtatibus.* Act. 55. Acepſimæ, Joſeph. & Acithalus; apud Simeon Metaphr. Nov. 3. (tom. 5. Lipom. fol. 18. fin.

† *Neque tunc civitas Chriſti, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in terris, & haberet tamen magnorum agmina popu'orum, adverſus impios perſecutores ſuos pro temporali ſalute pugnavit; ſed potius, ut obtineret æternam, non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trucidabantur, & multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro ſalute pugnare niſi ſalutem pro Salvatore contemnere.* Auguſt. de Civ. Dei. l. 21. c. 6.

‖ *Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, ne verbo quidem reluctamur: ſed Deo remittimus ultionem.* Lactan. inſtit. l. 5. c. 21.

do not reſiſt ſo much as with a word; but leave the revenge to God. Whereof he wiſhed the Perſecutors to make this uſe,

* *Cum ab ortu Solis uſque ad occaſum lux Divina ſuſcepta ſit, & omnis ſexus, omnis ætas, & gens, & regio unitis ac paribus animis Deo ſerviant; eadem ſit ubique patientia, idem contemptus mortis: intelligere debuerant, aliquid in ea re eſſe rationis, quod non ſine cauſa uſque ad mortem defendatur, aliquid fundamenti ac ſoliditatis, quod eam Religionem non tantum injuriis ac vexatione non ſolvat, ſed augeat ſemper & faciat firmiorem.* Id. ibid.

* *Whereas from the riſing of the Sun to the fall thereof the Divine Law hath been received, and every Sex, every Age, and People, and Country, with united and equal minds do ſerve God; the ſame patience is found every where, the ſame contempt of death: they ought to underſtand there is ſome reaſon in the matter, that not without cauſe it ſhould thus be defended unto the death; and there is ſome foundation and ſolidity therein, that Perſecution doth not only, by the injuries and vexations thereof, not diſſolve this Religion, but alſo increaſe it continually and make it firmer.*

Neither was this patience of the Saints ſeen only in the Primitive Perſecutions, wherein the Imperial Edicts armed the Infidel People for the extirpation of Chriſtianity: but alſo after that *Conſtantine* the Great had aboliſhed thoſe bloudy Acts, and enacted other Laws for the liberty of the Church of God, the

the like ſubjection was conſtantly continued; as well under the *Arrian* Emperours, who retaining the title of Chriſtians did endeavour with all their power to advance that damnable Hereſie, but alſo under *Julian* himſelf, who utterly revolted from the very profeſſion of the name of Chriſt. For this man at firſt ſhewed ſuch zeal in the embracing of our Religion, that *he, with *Gallus* his Kinſman (altho of the Bloud Royal) thought it not ſcorn to take upon him the Office of reading the holy Scriptures unto the People in the Church: and howſoever he afterwards †ſecretly withdrew himſelf and adhered to the devilliſh Superſtition of the *Pagans*; yet at his firſt entrance into the publick Government he pretended ſtill to be a Chriſtian, and for the further manifeſtation thereof, upon the ſixth day of *January*, which we call the *Epiphany*, he repaired unto the Church of the Chriſtians, and there joined with them in Gods publick

* Τῷ μὲν γε κλήρῳ φέροντες ἑαυτοῦ ἐγκατέλεξαν, ὥστε τὰς θείας ὑπαναγινώσκειν τῷ λαῷ βίβλους, οὐδενὸς ἔλαττον εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῖς τοῦτο εἶναι νομίζοντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντων μεῖζον καλλώπισμα, τὴν εὐσέβειαν. Greg. Naz. Orat. 1. in Jul.

† *Utq; omnes nullo impediente ad ſui favorem illiceret, adherere cultui Chriſtiano fingebat, à quo jampridem occulte deſciverat, arcanorum participibus paucis aruſpicinæ auguriiſque intentus, & cæteris quæ Deorum ſemper fecere cultores. Et ut hæc interim celarentur, feriarum die quem celebrantes menſe Januario Chriſtiani Epiphaniam dictitant, progreſſus in eorum Eccleſiam, ſolenniter numine orato diſceſſit.* Ammian. Marcell. hiſt. l. 2.

wor-

worſhip. But when ſhortly after he had declared himſelf to be an open enemy unto the faith of Chriſt, the Chriſtian Souldiers, of whom the main bulk of his Army did conſiſt (as appeareth by their general acclamation unto *Jovianus* recorded in the * Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, when upon the death of *Julian* he was made Emperor in his room) did not thereupon revolt from him, as he had done from Chriſt; but held themſelves ſtill tied in Conſcience to *render unto Cæſar the things that were Cæſars*, as *to God the things that were Gods.* † *Julian was an unbelieving Emperor*, ſaith S. *Auguſtin: Was he not an Apoſtate, an Oppreſſour, an Idolater? Chriſtian Souldiers did ſerve that unbelieving Emperor. When they came to the cauſe of Chriſt, they would acknowledge no Lord but him that is in heaven. When he would have them to worſhip Idols, and to offer incenſe, they preferred God before him. But when he ſaid, Go forth to fight, invade ſuch a Nation, they preſently obeyed. They did diſtinguiſh their eternal Lord from their temporal: and yet were they ſubject even to their temporal Lord for his ſake that was their Lord eternal.*

And what kind of weapons the other Chri-

* Rufin. lib. 2. hiſt. Eccl. c. 1. Soc. l. 3. c. 22. Theod. l. 4. c. 1.

† *Julianus extitit infidelis Imperator. Nonne extitit apoſtata, iniquus, idololatra? Milites Chriſtiani ſervierunt Imperatori infideli: Ubi veniebatur ad cauſam Chriſti, non agnoſcebant niſi illum qui in cœlis eſt. Quando volebat ut idola colerent, ut thurificarent, præponebant illi Deum. Quando autem dicebat, Producite aciem, ite contra illam gentem; ſtatim obtemperabant. Diſtinguebant Dominum æternum à Domino temporali: & tamen ſubditi erant, propter Dominum æternum, etiam domino temporali.* Aug. in Pſal. 124.

Christians used (who were the far stronger part of the Empire) against the present injuries which he offered unto them, and the more grievous afflictions which he intended afterward to bring upon them; *Gregory Nazianzen* declareth, when he sheweth that* *they were repressed by Gods mercy and the Christians tears, which were many and shed by many, as having no other remedy against that Persecutor.* For † *we*, saith he, *unto whom no weapon, nor bulwark, nor any other defence was left but only our hope in God, all human succour being utterly taken away and cut off from us; whom else could we have, either hearer of our prayer, or stopper of the things that were threatned against us, but him that sweareth against the pride of Jacob?* And when that miserable mans wrath was gone, and those great thoughts of his perished with him, this grave Father doth thus magnifie Gods exceeding great goodness unto his suppliants; ‖ *What great preparation of Arms, and plotting of Projects could have wrought such things? how many thousands of men and orderings of Armies? as only we supplicating, and God using his own pleasure, hath brought to pass.*

* Ἐπεσχέθη δὲ τῇ τοῦ Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίᾳ, καὶ τοῖς χριστιανῶν δάκρυσιν, ἃ πολλὰ δὲ καὶ περὶ πολλῶν ἐχύθη, τοῦτο μόνον ἐχόντων κατὰ τοῦ διώκτου φάρμακον. Greg. Naz. Orat. 1. in Jul.

† Ἡμεῖς δὲ οἷς καὶ ὅπλον καὶ τεῖχος, καὶ ἄλλο πᾶν ἀμυντήριον, ἢ πρὸς τὸν Θεὸν ἐλπὶς ὑπελείπετο, πᾶσα ἀνθρωπίνην περιῃρημένοις καὶ περικεκομένοις ἐπικουρίαν παντάπασι τίνα ἄρα ἕτερον ἢ τῆς εὐχῆς ἀκροατὴν ἢ κωλυτὴν τῶν ἀπειλουμένων ἕξειν ἐμέλλομεν, ἢ τὸν ἐμνύοντα κατὰ τῆς Ἰακὼβ Θεὸν ὑπερηφανίας. Id. Orat. 2. in eund.

‖ Πόσαι ταῦτα κατέπραξαν ἂν ὅπλων παρασκευαὶ καὶ μηχανημάτων ἐπίνοιαι; πόσαι μυριάδες ἀνδρῶν καὶ φάλαγγες; ὅσα ἱκετεύοντες μόνον ἡμεῖς καὶ Θεὸς βουληθεὶς κατειργάσατο. Id. ibid.

Among

Among the *Arrian* Emperours the prime Perſecutors of the Catholicks was *Conſtantius* the Son of great *Conſtantine:* unto whom the Orthodox Chriſtians, where they could not tender their *active* did readily preſent their *paſſive* obedience: acknowledging his power to be from God, to whoſe judgment therefore they referred him; without the leaſt thought of defending themſelves and the truth of the Religion which they profeſſed, by any violent oppoſition or taking up of Arms againſt their Sovereign. * *Ceaſe to perſecute the Chriſtians, do not labour by our means to bring impiety into the Church. We are ready to ſuffer all things, rather than to be called* Arrians: *compel not us, who are Chriſtians to be accounted fighters againſt Chriſt. This is our counſel unto thee. Fight not againſt him that hath given this Empire unto thee; do not inſtead of thanks, requite him with impiety. Perſecute not them which believe in him; leſt thou alſo hear, It is hard for thee to kick againſt the pricks.* Thus freely did *Librius*

Παῦσαι διώκων χριστιανὲς, μὴ πείρᾳζε δι' ἡμῶν εἰσάξαι ἢ ἀσέβειαν εἰς ἢ ἐκκλησίαν. πάντα ὑπομένειν ἑτοίμοι ἢ Ἀρειομανῖ χληθῆναι χριστιανὲς ὄντας ἡμᾶς μὴ ἀναγκάζε χριστομάχους χληθῆναι. τῦτο γὰρ σοὶ συμβελλόμεθα. Μὴ μάχε θεὸς ἢ δεδωκότα σοι ἢ ἀρχὴν ταύτην, μὴ ἀντ' εὐχαριστίας ἀσεβήσῃς εἰς αὐτόν· μὴ διώκε τοὺς πεδίοντας εἰς αὐτόν, μὴ ἐχύσῃς γὰρ σὺ Σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν. Liber. ad Conſt. apud Athan. in Epiſt. ad ſolitar. vit. agentes. (tom. 1. p. 646. Commelin.)

berius Bishop of *Rome* encounter the heretical Emperour: resisting him no otherwise, but with the ready submittal of himself to that banishment which he was assured beforehand was determined for him. In the like manner *Hosius*, that old Confessor, beginneth his stout, but dutiful Letter which he wrote unto him. * *I was a Confessor at first, when the Persecution was raised by your Grandfather* Maximian: *and if you do also persecute me, I am now also ready to endure any thing rather than shed innocent bloud and betray the truth.* Afterwards he putteth him in mind of his mortality, and of the day of judgment: acknowledging in the mean time that he had received from God his Imperial Sovereignty, and therefore whosoever did detract any thing from thence, should therein oppose Gods Ordinance; as we have heard heretofore. For which readiness of suffering, that general Protestation of the People of *Alexandria* is not here to be forgotten. † *If it be the Emperours command that we should be persecuted, we are all ready to suffer Martyrdom. But if there be no such thing, we do beseech* Maximus *the Governour of* Egypt, *and all the Magistrates, that they*

* Ἐγὼ μὲν ὡμολόγησα καὶ τὸ πρῶτον ὅτε διωγμὸς γέγονεν ἐπὶ τῷ πάππῳ σοῦ Μαξιμιανῷ. Εἰ δὲ καὶ σύ με διώκεις, ἕτοιμος καὶ νῦν πᾶν ὁτιοῦν ὑπομένειν ἢ ἐκκενοῦν ἀθῷον αἷμα καὶ προδιδόναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν. Hosius, initio Epistolæ ad Const. ib. (p. 649.)

† Εἰ μὲν οὖν πρόσταγμά ἐστι διώκεσθαι ἡμᾶς, ἕτοιμοι πάντες μαρτυρῆσαι· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ τοῦ Αὐγούστου πρόσταγμα, ἀξιοῦμεν τὴν ἔπαρχον τῆς Αἰγύπτου Μάξιμον, καὶ τοὺς πολιτευτὰς πάντας, ἀξιῶσαι αὐτὸν, μηκέτι τοιαῦτα ἐπιχειρῆσαι. Populi Alex. Protest. (tom. 1. oper Athan. p. 858.)

would intreat his Majesty such things may not be attempted against us.

To this patient submission unto whatsoever pressure should be imposed upon them by the authority which God had placed over them, his servants added most humble supplications; seconded with most earnest prayers for the welfare of the persecuting Emperor. Hence came that of St. *Hilary* unto him; **Your mild nature, most blessed Lord, agreeth with your gracious disposition. And because mercy doth flow abundantly from the Fountain of your Fatherly goodness; that which we intreat for, we assure our selves that we shall easily obtain. We beseech you, not only with words, but also with tears, that the Catholick Church be no longer oppressed with grievous injuries, and endure intolerable Persecutions and Contumelies, and that (which is most foul) even of our Brethren. † Let your clemency permit the People to have such Teachers as they like, such as they think well of, such as they choose: and let them solemnize the divine mysteries, and offer prayers for your safety and happiness:* and that of the twenty Bishops of the West, in the conclusion

* *Benignifica natura tua, Domine beatissime Auguste cum benigna voluntate concordat. Et quoniam de fonte paternæ pietatis tuæ misericordia largiter profluit; quod rogamus, facile nos impetrare posse confidimus. Non solum verbis sed etiam lacrymis deprecamur, ne diutius Catholicæ Ecclesiæ gravissimis injuriis afficiantur; & intolerabiles sustineant persecutiones & contumelias & quod est nefarium, à fratribus nostris.* Hilar. ad Const. l. 2.

† *Permittat lenitas tua populis, ut quos voluerint, quos putaverint, quos elegerint, audiant docentes & divina mysteriorum solennia concelebrent, & pro incolumitate, & beatitudine tua offerant preces.* Hilar. ad Const. l. 2.

of

of the first Letters which they wrote unto him from the Synod held at *Ariminum*. *We beseech you that you cause us not to stay from our charges, but that* * *the Bishops together with their own People may with Peace imploy themselves in prayers and the service of God; making supplications for your Kingdom, safety, and peace, in which the Divine Majesty long preserve you*: and of the second likewise. † *Again we beseech your clemency (our Lord and King, of God most beloved) that before the sharpness of the Winter, if it so please your godliness, you command us to return to our Churches: that we may together with the People accomplish our accustomed prayers to the Almighty God, and our Lord and Saviour Christ his only begotten Son, for your Empire; as we have always heretofore done, and now continue still to do.* And how ample those prayers were, which the true Christians made for the welfare and long continuance of him and his posterity, that which is yet extant, of || *Cyril* Bishop of *Jerusalem*, may sufficiently demonstrate.

* Ἵνα οἱ ἐπίσκοποι σὺν τοῖς ἰδίοις λαοῖς μετ' εἰρήνης εἰς εὐχάς τε καὶ λατρείας σχολὴν ἄγοιεν, ἱκετεύοντες ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας καὶ σωτηρίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἣν ἡ θειότης σοι εἰς τὸ διηνεκὲς χαριεῖται. Ep. 1. Synod. Ariminens. ad Const. apud Athan. in Ep. de Synod. Arimin. & Seleuc. Soz. l. 4. c. 18. & Socrat. l. 2. c. 37.

† Πάλιν τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀξιοῦμεν κύριε, θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, ὅπως πρὸ τῆς τραχύτητος τῶν χειμώνων, εἴπερ ἀρέσειε τῇ σῇ εὐσεβείᾳ, κελεύσεις ἡμᾶς εἰς τὰς ἡμετέρας ἐκκλησίας ἐπανελθεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ δύνασθαι ἡμᾶς τῷ παντοκράτορι Θεῷ καὶ τῷ δεσπότῃ καὶ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν Χριστῷ, τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ τῷ μονογενεῖ ὑπὲρ τῆς σῆς βασιλείας, τὰς ἐθίμους εὐχὰς μετὰ τῶν λαῶν ἀποπληροῦν, καθὼς καὶ ἀεὶ ἐπετελέσαμεν καὶ νῦν ἐχόμενοι. Epist. 2. Synod. Ariminens. (apud Socr. loc.

loc. notat.) ‖[Χριστῦ] τῇ δυνάμει καὶ τῇ χάριτί σε φρουρούμενον λαμπροτέροις τε καὶ μείζοσιν εὐσεβείας ἐμπρέποντα κατορθώμασιν ὑῶν τε γνησίων βασιλικοῖς ἐναβρυνόμενον βλαστήμασιν. Αὐτὸς ὁ παμβασιλεὺς Θεὸς, ὁ πάσης ἀγαθωσύνης πάροχος πολλαῖς ἐπὶ εἰρηνικαῖς περιόδοις, καυχῆμα χριστιανοῖς καὶ κόσμῳ σύμπαντι φυλάξῃ παναίσιον, ἐῤῥωμένον καὶ πάσῃ κεκοσμημένον ἀρετῇ, καὶ τὴν συνήθη τῶν τε ἁγίων ἐκκλησιῶν καὶ τῆς Ῥωμαίων ἀρχῆς τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενον, καὶ μείζοσιν εὐσεβείας βραβείοις λαμπρυνόμενον, πολλαῖς εἰρηνικαῖς ἐπὶ περιόδοις ὁ τῶν ὅλων Θεὸς ἡμῖν χαρίσῃ παναίσιον, Αὔγουστε βασιλεῦ θεοφιλέστατε. Cyril. Hierosol. in fin. Epist. ad Constant.

We have yet remaining the Apology of *Athanasius* Archbishop of *Alexandria* unto the same *Constantius*: wherein he cleareth himself of four accusations that were laid to his charge.

I. That he had used some evil language against this Emperor unto his Brother *Constans*.

II. That he wrote Letters to *Magnentius*, who rebelled against and murthered the said *Constans*.

III. That he celebrated publick Prayers in the great Church of *Alexandria* before it was dedicated.

IV. That he obeyed not the Emperors command, requiring him to part from *Alexandria*.

Where to the first his answer is this; * *I am not mad, O King, neither have I forgotten the voice of God, which saith, Curse not the King, no not in thine heart.*

*Οὐ μαίνομαι, βασιλεῦ, οὐδὲ ἐπελαθόμην τῆς θείας φωνῆς λεγούσης, καίγε ἐν συνειδήσει σου βασιλέα μὴ καταράσῃ, &c. Athan. in Apol. ad Const.

For

For the repelling of the ſecond, he draweth an argument from the publick Prayers which he made for *Conſtantius* himſelf; in whom he could not but contemplate (as in a glaſs) the image of *Conſtans* his Brother. And * *witneſs hereof*, ſaith he, *is firſt the Lord; who heard us and granted unto you the entire Empire which was left unto you by your Anceſtors: then thoſe who at that time were preſent. For the words I uſed were only theſe, Let us pray for the welfare of the moſt religious Emperour* Conſtantius: *and preſently the whole People with one voice cried, O Chriſt, be favourable unto* Conſtantius: *and ſo continued a long time, thus praying.* And then concludes, † *Let truth take place with you, and leave not ſuch a ſuſpition upon the whole Church, as though ſuch things as theſe ſhould be thought on or written by Chriſtians, and eſpecially by Biſhops.*

* Μάρτυρες τούτων φησὶν μὲν ὁ Κύριος, ὁ ἐπακούσας ἡμῶν καὶ χαρισάμενος ὁλόκληρον σοι ἐκ προγόνων βασιλείαν μάρτυρες δ' καὶ οἱ τότε παρόντες· μόνον γὰρ ἔλεγον, Προσευξώμεθα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Αὐγούστου Κωνσταντίου· καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς εὐθὺς μιᾷ φωνῇ ἐβόα, Χριστὲ βοήθει Κωνσταντίῳ, καὶ διέμειναν ἕως εὐχομένων. Ibid.

† Κρατείτω ἡ ἀλήθεια παρὰ σοὶ, καὶ μὴ ἀφῇς ὑπόνοιαν τοιαύτην κατὰ πάσης ἐκκλησίας γενέσθαι, ὡς τοιαῦτα βουλευόντων καὶ γραφόντων χριστιανῶν, καὶ μάλιστα ὑπὸ ἐπισκόπων. Ibid.

As for the third he confeſſeth indeed he did ſo, being ‖ urged thereunto by the importunity of the People, who earneſtly preſſed that they might *all pray for*

‖ Τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν καταπεπτωκυιῶν καὶ δεομένων ἡμῶν ὅτι μόνον ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐκείνου ἀξιώσαιμεν τὸν Θεὸν

μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ σωθῆναι, καὶ εἶπεν πάντας εὐχασθαι καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐκείνου καὶ γέγονεν. Athan. in Apol. ad Conſt.

for

for the welfare of the Emperour, in that Church which he himself had builded; being ready otherwise to go out of the City, and to assemble themselves in the deserts, at the solemnity of Easter, which at that time was celebrated. * *And you, O King, most beloved of God,* (saith he) *where would you have had the People stretch out their hands and pray for you? there where the Pagans did pass by, or in that place which bore your own name; and which then, or rather from the laying of the first foundation thereof, all men did call a Kirk?* and then turning his speech unto our blessed Saviour, † *O Lord Christ* (saith he) *who art indeed the King of Kings, the only begotten Son of God, the Word and Wisdom of the Father, because the People have implored thy goodness, and by thee called upon thy Father, who is God over all, for the welfare of thy most Religious servant* Constantius, *I am now accused:* and to the Emperour again, ‖ *You do not forbid, but are willing that all men should*

* Σὺ δὲ θεοφιλέστατε βασιλεῦ, πῦ τοὺ λαοὺς ἂν ἤθελες ἐκτεῖναι τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὔξασθαι περὶ σοῦ, ἔνθα καὶ Ἕλληνες ἵστανται παρεργόμενοι, ἢ ἐν τῷ ἐπωνύμῳ σοῦ τόπῳ; ὃν ἤδη, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ἅμα τῷ θεμελίῳ κυριακὸν πάντες ὀνομάζουσι. Ibid.

† Ὦ δέσποτα καὶ ἀληθῶς βασιλεῦ τῶν βασιλευόντων Χριστὲ, υἱὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ μονογενὴς, λόγε καὶ σοφία τοῦ Πατρὸς, ἐπειδὴ τὴν σὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ὁ λαὸς ηὔξατο, καὶ διὰ σοῦ τὸν σὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐπὶ πάντων Θεὸν παρεκάλεσε, περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ σοῦ θηράποντος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου Κωνσταντίου, κατηγοροῦμαι. Ibid.

‖ Οὐ κωλύεις, ἀλλὰ θέλεις πάντας εὔχεσθαι, εἰδὼς ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν εὐχὴ σώσεσθαί σε καὶ βασιλεύειν ἐν εἰρήνῃ διαπαντός· ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν κατέπονται ἀποδύρο-

ſhould pray, knowing that this is the prayer of all, that you may live in ſafety, and continually reign in peace. And this is the expoſtulation which I make againſt my accuſer. But as for you (O Emperour of God moſt beloved) many circuits of years I pray you may live, and accompliſh the dedication of this Church. For thoſe prayers that are made therein for your welfare, do not a whit hinder the ſolemnity of the Dedication.

μαι Σὺ δ', Θεοφιλέστατε Αὔγουστε, ζήσειας πολλαῖς ἐπὶ περιόδοις, καὶ τὰ ἐγκαίνια ἐπιτελέσειας· αἱ δὲ ἡμῶν εὐχαὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων σοὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἕνεκα ἐκπεμπόμεναι οὐδὲν τῆς ἐγκαινίων πανηγύρεως. Athan. in Apol. ad Conſt.

Laſtly, To the fourth charge he anſwereth peremptorily, * *I did not oppoſe the command of your Majeſty. God forbid. I am not ſuch a man as would oppoſe the very Treaſurer of the City, much leſs ſo great an Emperour.* † *I was not ſo mad as to gainſay ſuch a command of yours.* And ‖ *I neither did oppoſe the command to your Majeſty, nor will now attempt to enter into* Alexandria, *until you of your humanity be pleaſed I ſhall ſo do.*

* Οὐκ ἀντίσλω τῷ ϛαγματι τῆς σῆς εὐσεβείας· μὴ γένοιτο. ὃς γὰρ τηλικοῦτος εἶναι καὶ λογισθῆναι πρὸς τοῦτο ἀνήσω, μήπω τηλικούτῳ βασιλεῖ. Ibid.

† Οὐ γὰρ ἐμανὴν ὅλως ἀντιπεῖν τοιούτῳ σε ϛαγματι. Ibid.

‖ Οὔτε γὰρ ἀντίσλω τῷ ϛαγματι τῆς εὐσεβείας, ὅτε νῦν εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρειαν εἰσελθεῖν σπεύδω, ἕως ἂν σὺ φιλανθρωπία τοῦτο βέλῃ. Ibid.

We find this alſo recorded in the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory as a diſcreet ſpeech of *Aphraates* a zealous Chriſtian; that

when *Valens*, another *Arrian* Emperor, demanded of him whither he went, he made answer he was going to * *pray for his Empire.* And yet how miserably the Church was afflicted under his Government, S. *Basil*, beside many others, bemoaneth at large in sundry of his Epistles: † prescribing herein no other remedy, but constancy in maintaining, and patience in suffering for the truth. In both which how forward he shewed himself to be, may appear by that resolute answer which he made to *Modestus* the Governour of his Country. ‖ *In other things we are mild, and more humble than any other,* (*Gods Law so commanding us*) *and lift not up our brow against any of the meanest, much less against so great a power. But where the cause of God is in danger, we neglect all other things, and look only unto him. Fire, and Sword, and Beasts, and Hooks that tear our flesh, are matter of rejoicing to us rather than terrour. Beside all this; upbraid, threaten, do unto us what ever pleaseth thee, imploy thine authority.*

* Τπὲρ τ σῆς περσεύξομθος βασιλείας. Theod. hist. Eccl. l. 4. c. 26.

† Vide Basil. Epist. 71. ad Alexand.

‖ Τἄλλα μὲ ὀπιεικεῖς ἡμεῖς, ὑ παρχ, κ πάντος ἄλλ πεινότερ τῶτο τῆς ἐντολῆς κελεύσης, κ μὴ ὅπ τοσότῳ κρατεῖ, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἧβ τυχόντων ἐπὶ τ ὀφρυῦ αἴρομλες. ὅ ἢ Θεὸς τὸ κινδυνεύομθον πᾶλα περιορνάντες περὶ ἑαυτὸν μόνον βλέπομεν. Πῦρ ἢ κ ξίφ κ θῆρες, κ οἱ τὰς σάρκας τέμνοντες ὄνυχες, χρφὴ μᾶλλον ἡμῖν εἰσιν, ἢ καπάπληξις· περὶ παῦτα ὕβρεις ἀπείλει, ποίᾳ πᾶν ὅ, πᾶν ἢ βκομόρῳ σοι, τ ἐξκσίας ἀπόλαυε· ἀκκίτω ταῦτα κ βασιλεῖς, ὡς ἡμᾶς γε κ αἰχήσεις, ὅδε πείσεις σωφρόνως τὴ ἀσεβείᾳ, κἂν ἀπειλὴ χαλεπώτερα. Greg. Naz. Orat. 20. in funere Basilii.

authority. Let the Emperour alſo hear of this: that thou ſhalt not overcome us, nor perſuade us to conſent to impiety; although thou ſhouldſt threaten unto us far heavier things than theſe. This Speech of his is related by *Gregory Nazianzen*, in the Oration which he made upon his death: and the general rule of obedience is thus recommended unto us by *Gregory* himſelf; **This is one of our Laws, and of thoſe laudable ones and moſt excellently ordained by the Spirit of God (who knew beſt how to temper his Law with the mixture of what was poſſible to us and honeſt in it ſelf) that as Servants ſhould be obedient to their Maſters, and Wives to their Husbands, and the Church to our Lord, and Diſciples to their Paſtors and Teachers: ſo ſhould we alſo be ſubject to all higher Powers, not only for the fear of puniſhment, but alſo for conſcience ſake.*

* Ἔστι καὶ οὗτος ἡμῖν τῶν νόμων, καὶ οὓς τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ θεῖον ἐκρίνατο κράτιστα, τὴν ἀκρίβειαν τοῦ νομοθετήσαντος μιγνὺς τῷ δυνατῷ καὶ τῷ ἀνθρωπείῳ, ὥστε δούλους μὲν ὑπακούειν δεσπόταις, καὶ γυναῖκας ἀνδράσι καὶ Κυρίῳ μὲν ἡ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ μαθητὰς ποιμέσι καὶ διδασκάλοις· ὑπὸ δὲ καὶ πάσας ἐξουσίας ὑποτάσσεσθαι, μόνον διὰ τὴν ὀργὴν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συνείδησιν. Greg. Naz. Orat. 17. ad cives timore perculſos.

The next Emperor infected with the Hereſie of *Arrius*, was *Valentinian* the younger: with whom S. *Ambroſe* had to do: who yet as the Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory noteth, † *did not defend himſelf by his hand or his weapon; but with faſtings and continual watchings remaining under Gods Altar, by his prayers procured God to be a defender both of him and his Church:*

† *Neq; ſe manu defenſavit aut telo, ſed jejuniis continuiſq; vigiliis ſub altari poſitus, per obſecrationes defenſorem ſibi atque Eccleſiæ Deum paravit.* Ruf. hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 26.

from

from which ſpirit proceeded that Speech of his to his Flock at *Milain*, * *Willingly I will never forſake you; being conſtrained I know not how to make oppoſition. I can ſorrow, I can weep, I can ſigh; againſt Armor, Souldiers and Goths, tears are my weapons: for ſuch is the munition of a Prieſt. In any other manner I ought not nor cannot reſiſt:* and to the Emperors Officers, † *If my patrimony be the thing ſought for, take it: if my body, I will be ready. Will you hale me unto priſon, or unto death? you ſhall do me a pleaſure. I will not guard my ſelf with multitudes of People: I will not lay hold upon the Altar to intreat for life; but will more willingly my ſelf be ſacrificed for the Altars:* and to the Notary, ‖ *Deliver up my Church I may not, but fight I ought not.* And ∴ when it was required of him *that he ſhould appeaſe the fury of the People;* his anſwer was, that *it lay in his power not to incite them, but in the hand of God, to mitigate them.* And yet how little cauſe the others had to fear that People, whom S. *Ambroſe* had ſo well inſtructed in their duty toward their

* *Volens nunquam vos deſeram, coactus repugnare non novi. Dolere potero, potero flere, potero gemere; adverſus arma, milites, Gothos quoque lachrymæ meæ arma ſunt: Talia enim munimenta ſunt ſacerdotis. Aliter nec debeo, nec poſſum reſiſtere.* Ambr. in Orat. de Baſil. non tradend. contra Auxentium.

† *Si patrimonium petitur, invadite: ſi corpus, occurram. Vultis in vincula rapire? Vultis in mortem? voluptati eſt mihi. Non ego me vallabo circumfuſione populorum, nec altaria tenebo vitam obſecrans, ſed pro altaribus gratius immolabor.* Id. ad Marcel. ſororem, Epiſt. 33. (al. 13.)

‖ *Tradere baſilicam non poſſum, ſed pugnare non debeo.* Ibid. ∴ *Exigebatur à me ut compeſcerem populum. Referebam, in meo jure eſſe ut non excitarem, in Dei manu ut mitigaret.* Ibid.

Prince;

Prince; the general acclamation made by them, and by him aſcribed to the very inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt, may teſtifie to all poſterity. For * *what*, ſaith he, *could more excellently have been ſaid by Chriſtian men, than that which the Holy Ghoſt ſpake in you this day? We make requeſt, O Emperor, we fight not: afraid we are not, but yet we entreat. This* (ſaith that good Biſhop to his Diſciples) *doth beſeem Chriſtians; that both the tranquillity of peace ſhould be deſired by them, and their conſtancy in the faith and truth ſhould not be deſerted, no not with the peril of death.*

* *Quid præſtantius dici potuit à Chriſtianis viris quàm id quod hodie in vobis Spiritus Sanctus eſt locutus? Rogamus, Auguſte, non pugnamus: non timemus, ſed rogamus. Hoc Chriſtianos decet, ut & tranquillitas pacis optetur, & fidei veritatiſque conſtantia nec mortis revocetur periculo.* Ambr. ad Marcel. ſororem. Epiſt. 33. (al. 13.)

And as in the Empire, ſo in thoſe other Kingdoms which were under the Government of *Arrian* Princes, their orthodox Subjects were careful to yield unto them all dutiful obſervance: acknowledging their power to have been given them by God; and, in that reſpect, as heartily praying for the continuance of their ſtate and dignity, as they did for the aboliſhing and extinguiſhing of their Hereſie. For proof whereof we need go no further than to the Books

Books written by *Fulgentius* unto *Thraſimundus* King of the *Vandals* in *Africk*; and the Council of *Agatha*, held under *Alarick* King of the *Goths* in *France*. For about the beginning of his firſt Book *Fulgentius* thus maketh his entrance unto the *Arrian* Perſecutor. * *When we anſwer freely for our faith, as far as God hath given us ability to do; we ought not to be taxed with any ſuſpition of contumacy or contumely: ſeeing we are not unmindful of the Regal dignity, and know that we muſt fear God and honor Kings, according to the Apoſtles doctrine. We therefore render all due obedience of honor unto your Grace; unto whom we ſee the top of Regal eminency hath been conferred by the divine liberality*: and towards the end of his laſt Book concludes with this ſubmiſs and religious admonition to him, † *I beſeech you, O glorious King, that you would conſider in your ſelf the largeneſs of the Divine gift, and not diminiſh the power of him who beſtoweth the ſame upon you: that he who hath given you this Kingdom temporal, may give you alſo that which is eternal.* The preamble of the

* *Cum pro noſtra fide, inquantum facultatem Divinitus accepimus, libere reſpondemus, nulla contumaciæ ſeu contumeliæ debemus ſuſpicatione notari: cum nec Regiæ ſimus dignitatis immemores, ſciamuſque Deo timorem, honorem Regibus eſſe exhibendum; Apoſtolica ita nos præmonente doctrina*, &c.

Competens igitur manſuetudinis tuæ deferimus honoris obſequium, cui Regalis apicem culminis Divina cernimus largitate collatum. Fulg. ad Thraſim. Reg. l. 1.

† *Quæſo, glorioſe Rex, ut in te conſideres largitatem Divini muneris, & poteſtatem non minuas largitoris; ut qui tibi temporale donavit regnum, doceat etiam ſempiternum.* Id. in fin. lib. 3. ad eund.

Council

Council of *Agatha*, wherein the Catholick Biſhops pray for the proſperity of their *Arrian* Kings, is this. **When the holy Synod in the name of God and by the permiſſion of the King, had met in the City of* Agatha, *and we had ſet our ſelves down in the Church of St.* Andrew; *we there, with knees bended on the ground, did pray for his Kingdom and the long continuance of his People; that as he had granted us liberty to aſſemble our ſelves, ſo God would extend his Kingdom with Happineſs, govern it with Juſtice, and protect it with Vertue.*

* *Cum, in Dei nomine ex permiſſu Regis in Agathenſem civitatem ſancta Synodus convenisſet, & in S. Andreæ baſilica conſedisſemus; ibique flexis genibus in terra, pro regno ejus, pro longævitate populi deprecaremur, ut qui nobis congregationis permiſerat poteſtatem, regnum ejus Dominus felicitate extenderet, juſtitia gubernaret, virtute protegeret*, &c. Procem. Synodi Agathenſis.

Thus ſtood things hitherto, and a long while after, until the following times of darkneſs obſcured this truth; ſo far, that in the days of the Emperor *Henry* III. (or IV. as others number him) that wicked innovation was brought in, whereof *Sigebert* maketh this mention in his Chronicle, †*That I may ſpeak with the leave of all good men, this meer novelty (that I ſay not Hereſie) was not yet riſen up in the World; that the Prieſts of*

* *ut pace omnium bonorum dixerim, hæc ſola novitas, ne dicam hæreſis, necdum in mundo emerſerat, ut ſacerdotes illius* qui dicit Regi Apoſtata, & qui regnare facit hypocritam propter

God

peccata populi, *doceant populum quod malis Regibus nullum debeant ſubjectionem, & licet ei ſacramentum fidelitatis fecerint, nullam tamen fidelitatem debeant, nec perjuri dicantur qui contra Regem ſenſerint; imo qui Regi paruerit, pro excommunicato habeatur, qui contra Regem fecerit, à noxa injuſtitiæ & perjurii abſolvatur.* Sigeb. Chron. ann. 1088.

God (who ſaith to a King, Remove; and who maketh an Hypocrite to reign, for the ſins of the People) *ſhould teach the People that they owe no ſubjection to wicked Kings, and albeit they have given an Oath of fidelity unto them, yet they owe no fidelity to them, nor are to be accounted perjured though they hold againſt the King; nay he that obeyeth the King ſhall be held as excommunicated, and he that oppoſeth the King ſhall be abſolved from the guilt of unjuſtice and perjury.* Of which Schiſmatical novelty, introduced by * *Satan newly looſed*, the Clergy men of *Liege* complain at large in their anſwer to the Epiſtle of Pope *Paſchal* II. where, among many other things pertinent to this purpoſe, they thus juſtifie the continuance of their ſubjection to their unjuſtly deprived Emperour: † *For the preſent we ſay nothing in the defence of our Emperour: but this we ſay, that although he were ſuch as you report him to be, yet ſhould we ſuffer him to rule over us; becauſe by our ſins we have deſerved, that ſuch*

* Rev. 20. 7: See the Book *De Chriſtianarum Eccleſiarum ſucceſſione & ſtatu*, c. 5.

† *Nihil modo pro Imperatore noſtro dicimus: ſed hoc dicimus, quod etiamſi talis eſſet, tamen eum principari nobis pateremur; quia ut talis nobis principetur, peccando meremur. Eſto: concedimus vobis inviti, eum talem eſſe qualem dicitis. Nec talis à nobis repellendus eſſet armis contra eum ſumptis, ſed precibus ad Deum fuſis,* Eccl. Leodienſ. in reſp. ad Epiſt. Paſch. II. Papæ (tom. 2. Concil. edit. Colon. an. 1551. p. 815.)

ſuch a one ſhould rule over us. Be it: let us grant againſt our will that he is ſuch a one as you ſay he is. Even ſuch a Prince ought not to be repelled by taking Arms againſt him, but by pouring out of our prayers to God. Which kind of weapons *Bernard*, not long after that, propoſeth as the only lawful ones that may be uſed for the vindicating of the injuries offered unto Gods Church: writing thus confidently unto *Ludovicus Craſſus* then King of *France*, * *Indeed we will ſtand and fight even unto death, if need ſo require, in our Mothers behalf, with ſuch weapons as we may lawfully uſe: not with Bucklers and Swords, but with Prayers and Tears to God*: and yet for his allegiance to the King himſelf he delivered his mind as reſolutely on the other ſide: † *If the whole World ſhould conſpire againſt me, that I ſhould attempt any thing againſt the Kings Majeſty; I would notwithſtanding fear God, and not preſume raſhly to offend the King ordained by him. For I am not ignorant where I have read, Whoſoever reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the ordinance of God.*

And thus have I laid together ſuch teſtimonies of antiquity as did occur in my reading as well touching the doctrine

* *Profecto ſtabimus & pugnabimus uſque ad mortem, ſi ita oportuerit, pro matre noſtra, armis quibus licet. non ſcutis & gladiis, ſed precibus fletibuſque ad Deum.* Bernard. Ep. 221. ad Ludov. reg.

† *Si totus orbis adverſum me conjuraret, ut quidpiam moliretur adverſus Regiam Majeſtatem; ego tamen Deum timerem, & ordinatum ab eo Regem offendere temere non auderem. Nec enim ignoro ubi legerim, Qui poteſtati reſiſtit, Dei ordinationi reſiſtit.* Id. Epiſt. 170. ad eund.

ctrine as the exerciſe of Regal Sovereignty and Chriſtian Subjection. Wherein however in the handling of particulars ſome errour may have eſcaped me; yet my main aim and ſcope, I am ſure, is ſtraight and upright; which is no other but to confirm all good Subjects in their dutiful obedience unto their Prince, and to prevent Sedition and Rebellion in ſuch, as being otherwiſe well minded, might perhaps for want of better information be drawn out of the way, and miſguided to their own deſtruction.

FINIS.